JOHN E. STAMBAUGH

SARAPIS UNDER THE EARLY PTOLEMIES

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ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

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WITH 4 PLATES

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PREFACE

At the beginning of his articles, *Two studies on the cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic world*, and *Current problems concerning the early history of the cult of Sarapis*, in *Opuscula Atheniensia*, III (1960), pp. 1-54, and VII (1965), pp. 23-45, Prof. P. M. Fraser disclaimed any intention of discussing in detail the divine elements of Sarapis' nature and the gods from which they were drawn. Since, however, one of the most impressive features of the Sarapis cult is the way he developed during the Hellenistic period into a pantheistic deity, it is worthwhile to restudy those elements that made up his divine personality, a task that has not been done since the publication of U. Wilcken's *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* in 1922. In the present monograph, which is greatly indebted to Prof. Fraser's work on the secular and historical aspects of Sarapis and to Wilcken's analysis of the Memphis documents, I have attempted to discuss the conception of Sarapis which developed in the early Hellenistic period, as influenced by the patronage of the early Ptolemies, the remarkably disparate speculations of theological writers about his nature, and the lively faith in his effectiveness displayed by the pious. Inasmuch as all three groups tended to ascribe to Sarapis the attributes and personalities of other gods, chapter III through VIII investigate the ways he was associated with traditional Greek and Egyptian gods during the reigns of the first four Ptolemies, the period in which his nature was being most actively defined. In chapter IX associations with other gods, not attested until later in the dynasty, are considered briefly. Because the focus is on the Hellenistic period, evidence from the Roman imperial age is as a rule not utilized, except when it helps in understanding attitudes toward Sarapis before 30 B.C.

To Prof. John V. A. Fine of Princeton, who advised and encouraged me in preparing this study's earlier manifestation as a doctoral dissertation, I offer very special thanks; errors of interpretation, and aberrations which have appeared during the rewriting are, of course, very much my own responsibility. I am also grateful to

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Figures 1, 2 and 4 are reproduced by courtesy of the British Museum; Figure 3, by courtesy of the École Française d'Archéologie.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BGU	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden*, Berlin.
BMC	British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London.
Brady, *Reception*	T. A. Brady. *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (130-30 B.C.)*. (*The University of Missouri Studies*, Vol. X, No. 1.) Columbia, Missouri, 1935.
Breccia, *Iscrizioni*	E. Breccia. *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine* (Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie*, Nos. 1-568). Cairo, 1911.
Budge, *Osiris*	E. A. W. Budge. *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*. London and New York, 1911.
CE	P. Roussel. *Les Cultes Égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^er Siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy, 1916.
CGC	Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.
FGrH	F. Jacoby. *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*. Berlin, 1923-1927; Leiden, 1940-1958.
FHG	C. Müller. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. Paris, 1885.
Fraser, *Current problems*	P. Fraser. *Current problems concerning the early history of the cult of Sarapis*, in *Opuscula Atheniensia*, VII (1965), pp. 23-45.
Fraser, *Two studies*	P. Fraser. *Two studies on the cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic world*, in *Opuscula Atheniensia*, III (1960), pp. 1-54.
GGR²	M. Nilsson. *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, 2nd ed. (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 5. Abteilung, 2. Teil). Munich, 1955 and 1961.
Hopfner, *Fontes*	T. Hopfner. *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae* (*Fontes Historiae Religionum ex Auctoribus Graecis et Latinis Collecti*, Fasc. 2). Bonn, 1922-1925.
Hopfner, *Plutarch*	T. Hopfner, *Plutarch über Isis und Osiris* (*Monografien des Archiv Orientalní*, Vol. IX). Prague, 1940.
ID	F. Durrbach et al. *Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin.
Kees, *Götterglaube*	H. Kees. *Der Götterglaube im Alten Aegypten*. Berlin, 1956.
OGIS	W. Dittenberger. *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. Leipzig, 1903-1905.

PAthens	G. Petropoulos. *Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis* (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς 'Ακαδεμίας 'Αθηνῶν, No. 1). Athens, 1939.
PCairoZenon	C. Edgar. *Zenon Papyri* (*CGC*, Nos. 59001-59853). Cairo, 1925-1940.
PEleph	O. Rubensohn. *Elephantine-Papyri* (*BGU*, Sonderheft). Berlin, 1907.
PEnt	O. Gueraud. *Enteuxeis, Requêtes et Plaintes Adressées au Roi d'Égypte au III^e Siècle avant J.-C.* (*Publications de la Société Royale Égyptienne de Papyrologie, Textes et Documents*, Vol. I). Cairo, 1931-1932.
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*, Paris.
PGrenfell	B. Grenfell. *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and Other Greek Papyri Chiefly Ptolemaic.* Oxford, 1896.
PHibeh	B. Grenfell, A. Hunt, and E. Turner. *The Hibeh Papyri* (Egypt Exploration Fund, Graeco-Roman Branch/ Egypt Exploration Society, *Graeco-Roman Memoirs*, No. 32). London, 1906-1955.
PMagd	J. Lesquier. *Papyrus de Magdola* (Institut Papyrologique de l'Université de Lille, *Papyrus Grecs*, ed. P. Jouguet, Vol. II). Paris, 1912.
PMich	C. Edgar et al. *Michigan Papyri* (*University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series, Vols. XXIV, XXVIII, XL, XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLVII, XLVIII, L). Ann Arbor, 1931-1951.
PMilVogl	A. Vogliano. *Papiri della Reale Università di Milano.* Milan, 1937.
POslo	S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen. *Papyri Osloenses.* Oslo, 1925-1936.
POxy	B. Grenfell et al. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.* (Egypt Exploration Society, *Graeco-Roman Memoirs*), London.
PRossGeorg	G. Zereteli. *Papyri Russischer und Georgischer Sammlungen.* Tiflis, 1929-1935.
PRyl	C. Roberts and E. Turner. *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.* Manchester, 1952.
PSI	*Papiri Greci e Latini* (Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto, *Pubblicazioni*), Florence.
PTeb	B. Grenfell, et al. *The Tebtunis Papyri* (Egypt Exploration Fund, Graeco-Roman Branch/Egypt Exploration Society, *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* and *University of California Publications*: *Graeco-Roman Archeaology*, Vols. I-IV). London, 1902-1938.
Picard, *Manuel*	C. Picard. *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque*, Paris.
Picard, *Statues Ptolémaïques*	J. Lauer and C. Picard. *Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis* (*Publications de l'Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université de Paris*, Vol. III). Paris, 1955.

R-E	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.* Stuttgart.
RPGR	S. Reinach. *Répertoire de Peintures Grecques et Romaines.* Paris, 1922.
RVV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.* Berlin.
SB	*Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten.* Strassburg, etc.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.* Leiden.
SIRIS	L. Vidman. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (*RVV*, Vol. XXVIII). Berlin, 1969.
SPP	C. Wessely. *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* Leipzig, 1904-1921.
Syll. Numm.	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum.* Copenhagen.
UPZ	U. Wilcken. *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* (Aeltere Funde). Vol. I: *Papyri aus Unterägypten.* Berlin and Leipzig, 1922-1927.
Vidman, Isis	L. Vidman. *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (*RVV*, Vol. XXIX). Berlin, 1970.
Welles, *Discovery*	C. B. Welles. *The discovery of Sarapis and the foundation of Alexandria*, in *Historia*, XI (1962), pp. 271-298.

ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger (Supplement to *JDAI*).
AAntHung	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
AC	L'Antiquité Classique. Louvain.
AD	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον Athens.
AIPhO	Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. Brussels.
AJP	American Journal of Philology. Baltimore.
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und Verwandte Gebiete. Leipzig.
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft. Berlin.
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. Leipzig and Berlin.
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte. Cairo.
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Paris.
BCTH	Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques. Paris.
BIAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Cairo.
BPhW	Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Berlin.
BRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. Manchester.
CJ	The Classical Journal. Iowa City, etc.
HR	History of Religions. Chicago.
HThR	Harvard Theological Review. Cambridge, Mass.
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Berlin.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. London.
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies. London.
MDAI(A)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung). Athens and Stuttgart.

MDAI (Kairo)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo. Augsburg.
MDAI(R)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung). Heidelberg.
MMAI	Monuments et Mémoires Publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Fondation Piot). Paris.
RA	Revue Archéologique. Paris.
REG	Revue des Études Grecques. Paris.
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions. Paris.
RhM	Rheinisches Museum. Frankfurt.
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Historische Klasse. Munich.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde. Leipzig.
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik. Bonn.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A. The Identity of Sarapis

Sarapis plays no role in any ancient myth; no Greek author of the classical period ever mentions him. He does not appear until the fourth century B.C., and then only in a few scattered documents. It is in the third century that the name of Sarapis attains sudden prominence, that his praises are sung loudly and enthusiastically both in his homeland, Egypt, and in many other parts of the Greek world. Throughout the Hellenistic age, and into the Roman Imperial period, he continued to attract such fervent devotion that it is no exaggeration to call him one of the most important gods of later antiquity.

Even within the traditional limits of the Hellenistic age, from 323 to 31 B.C., he was honored as a god with a remarkably wide influence. Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 361D-E) knew two Hellenistic writers, the fourth-century Heraclides of Pontus and the third-century Archemachus of Euboea, who identified him with the underworld god Pluto, and inscriptions from Abydus also address him as a god of the dead.[1] The calathus and cornucopia, appearing frequently in the iconography of Sarapis, show that fertility was also part of his competence as a chthonic deity. At the same time, however, unlike Pluto, he was invoked for favors and blessings by the living, and it is most frequently in this context that his name appears. He was especially revered as a patron of the Ptolemaic dynasty and the city of Alexandria, but his power extended outside the boundaries of Egypt—at least, the prayer that he grant the king power and dominion over the whole world [2] indicates a view of him as a transcendent god working on a cosmic scale. On the

[1] See Chapter III below.

[2] *UPZ*, 20. Compare *ibid.*, pp. 36-37, for his role in overseeing the administration of justice.

other hand, he is also—often in the same documents—referred to as an immanent divinity, receiving and answering prayers for personal blessings. Demetrius of Phalerum, the famous founder of the Alexandrian library under Ptolemy I, was miraculously cured of blindness by Sarapis and wrote hymns of thanksgiving in response.[1] Less distinguished devotees have also left prayers asking Sarapis for health.[2] His blessings extended to children,[3] and he was considered the protector of the distressed, whether those seeking asylum at his temple in Memphis [4] or manumitted slaves in Boeotia and Phocis.[5] He was a savior god, able to rescue those in danger.[6] He acted, in short, in a highly personal way, giving oracles [7] and appearing in dreams.[8]

The fact that a god who had not even been known to the Greeks before the fourth century came to be so highly regarded in the third and second centuries demands some sort of explanation. How did he become so popular so quickly in the religious context of the early Hellenistic Age? How did the faithful reconcile his apparent newness with their belief that he was an eternal, transcendent god? And how did an underworld god acquire so many benign attributes?

The evidence bearing on these questions is, not surprisingly, fragmentary. It can allow us to reconstruct the sequence in which these attributes were ascribed to him, however, and to determine which of them were elements in the earliest conception of Sarapis, under the first two or three Ptolemies. Ancient writers, attempting to account for Sarapis and his nature, tended to approach our questions by asserting that he was essentially the same as other, more traditional, gods. This Hellenistic habit of identifying Sarapis with other gods forms the basis of our procedure here, for these identifications provide a series of datable literary and documentary

[1] Artemidorus, *Onirocritica*, II, 39.
[2] *PCairoZenon*, I, 59034, and *SB*, V, 7618.
[3] For example, *CE*, 190.
[4] *UPZ*, 64 and 72.
[5] *IG*, VIII, 3198-3204 and 3301-3399; *SEG*, XII, 295 and 296.
[6] *UPZ*, pp. 31-34; *CE*, 49, 72, and 190; *SB*, I, 1054-1056.
[7] *SIRIS*, 286.
[8] For example, *CE*, 1, 109, and 192.

indications to explain the phenomenon of Sarapis' sudden appearance and success.

By the late first century B.C., Diodorus Siculus could report a bewildering variety of attempts to identify Osiris with other divinities, Sarapis among them:

> Some are of the opinion that Osiris is Sarapis, others that he is Dionysus, or Pluto, or Ammon; some, that he is Zeus; many that he is Pan. And some say that Sarapis is the god who is called Pluto among the Greeks. (I, 25, 2) [1]

Tacitus revealed a similarly wide diversity of opinion concerning Sarapis:

> The god himself many suppose to be Aesculapius, because he offers healing to sick bodies; some, to be Osiris, the most ancient deity those peoples have; a large number, to be Jupiter, on the grounds that his capabilities extend to all things; and a great many, to be Dis Pater, drawing this conclusion either by the attributes which appear with him, or through abstruse conjectures. (*Historiae*, IV, 84, 5) [2]

As late as the fourth century A.D., Cyril of Alexandria reported that there had been vigorous scholarly debate as to the true nature of Sarapis:

> Some do not think that he is Pluto, but rather Osiris, or according to others Apis; as there was a great deal of contention about this matter, they erected the image, they say, when they had come to agreement, of "Osirapis," as if from a single

[1] τὸν δὲ Ὄσιριν οἱ μὲν Σάραπιν, οἱ δὲ Διόνυσον, οἱ δὲ Πλούτωνα, οἱ δὲ Ἄμμωνα, τινὲς δὲ Δία, πολλοὶ δὲ Πᾶνα, νενομίκασι. λέγουσι δέ τινες Σάραπιν εἶναι τὸν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι Πλούτωνα ὀνομαζόμενον.

[2] Deum ipsum multi Aesculapium, quod medeatur aegris corporibus, quidam Osirin, antiquissimum illis gentibus numen, plerique Iovem ut rerum omnium potentem, plurimi Ditem patrem insignibus, quae in ipso manifesta, aut per ambages coniectant.

compound, so that both Osiris and Apis would be thought of in the same deity. (*Adversus Iulianum*, I, 13) [1]

These passages raise further questions. Who proposed each of these identifications, and in what context? Are they the result of court propaganda, scholarly theory, or popular piety? How many of these identifications were part of the original early Hellenistic conception of Sarapis, and how many are later additions? Why was there so much disagreement about the identity of Sarapis?

The testimony from Hellenistic authors only compounds the confusion. Sarapis is associated with Pluto by Heraclides of Pontus in the late fourth century and by Archemachus of Euboea in the third (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 361E); with Apis the bull by Nymphodorus of Syracuse in the fourth century B.C. (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, I, 21, 106), and by Phylarchus in the third (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 362B-C); with Apis, king of Argos, by Aristeas of Argos in the third century (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, I, 21, 106) and by Varro in the first (Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 5); with Osiris and Apis by Athenodorus of Tarsus in the first century (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, IV, 48, 4-6); with Helius and Zeus in documents of the second and first centuries B.C.; [2] with "Plutonius" Aion in the Alexander Romance, purportedly of the late fourth century B.C. (Pseudo-Callisthenes, I, 30, 6 and I, 33, 2); and with Helius in an oracle ascribed by Macrobius to the late fourth century B.C. (*Saturnalia*, I, 20, 16-17). Furthermore, throughout the Hellenistic period in dedicatory inscriptions and other documents he was addressed as a king, as god of the underworld, as a savior, and even as the "Greatest God." [3]

In modern scholarship, the most detailed attempt to explain the

[1] Migne, *PG*, LXXVI, col. 521: οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι τὸν Πλούτωνα αὐτόν, Ὄσιριν δὲ μᾶλλον, ἕτεροι δὲ τὸν Ἄπιν. Πολλῆς τοίνυν διαμάχης οὔσης περὶ τούτου, ἱδρύσαντο, φασί, τὸ εἴδωλον ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς συνθήματος συμβεβηκότες εἰς ὁμοφωνίαν, Ὀσίραπιν, ἵν' ἐν ταὐτῷ Ὄσιρίς τε καὶ Ἄπις νοοῖτο.

[2] Helius: *BMC Sicily*, p. 54, 37-90. Zeus: *CE*, 126, and *SEG*, XV, 426.

[3] *UPZ*, 15, 20, and 41 (Memphis, second century B.C.—compare *UPZ*, 106, from 99 B.C.); *IG*, XII, 3, 247 (Anaphe, first century B.C.); *POxy*, XII, 1453 (Oxyrhynchus, 30/29 B.C.).

nature of the Sarapis figure is Ulrich Wilcken's introduction to *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit.*[1] Working with the papyri from the Memphis Serapeum, and with the support of such ancient writers as Nymphodorus, Phylarchus, and Athenodorus, Wilcken demonstrated that Sarapis was a blend of Osiris and the Apis bull of Memphis, which he illustrated by the etymology of the name "Sarapis" as an "equivalent" (but not an exact transliteration) of the Egyptian (*Wsir-Ḥp*), Osiris-Apis. Osiris-Apis was the deity worshipped in the funerary temple of the Apis bull at Memphis, in whom were abstracted and united the souls of all the individual dead bulls buried in the catacombs beneath the Memphis temple.[2] Wilcken's conclusions deserve the general acceptance they have received,[3] for they surely reflect the official view of Sarapis which prevailed especially at Memphis in the second century B.C., the date of most of the papyri, when something like consensus about the god's nature had been achieved.

There are, however, many aspects of the divine activity and the iconography of Sarapis which it is difficult to explain if he originated only in the bull-god of Memphis; as we have seen, the Hellenistic period knew a number of other explanations about the god and his real identity. In examining the evidence from Alexandria and elsewhere we will see that many of these early Hellenistic theories exercised a real effect on the development of the Sarapis figure. During the first century of the Ptolemaic age, court theologians, speculative writers, and lay worshippers attempted to approach Sarapis in terms of their own needs and aspirations, ascribing to him the qualities of other gods whom they knew. The process is an unusually clear example of the developing syncretism that characterizes Hellenistic religious thought. By determining the date of the first mention of each association, and the context of its first and subsequent appearances, it will be possible to determine both

[1] *UPZ*, pp. 77-89.

[2] *UPZ*, pp. 18-29. Diodorus, I, 21, shows that sacred animals were absorbed into the godhead of Osiris. The Apis mentioned by itself in *UPZ*, 19, in the phrase τὸ πένθος τοῦ Ἄπιος apparently is one specific dead bull. When the word Ὀσεραπις appears, as in the mid-fourth century "Curse of Artemisia" (*UPZ*, 1), it refers to the total concept of all the Osirified Apis bulls.

[3] Compare Fraser, *Two studies*, esp. p. 1, n. 2.

the role that Sarapis was expected to play at the time of his introduction by the Ptolemies and to explain his later appeal to a vast group of devotees, both in Egypt and far outside its borders. It will be clear that he was connected in some fashion with Pluto, Osiris, Dionysus, Asclepius, and Apis within a hundred years of Alexander the Great's death in 323 B.C., and that in the following years his syncretistic divinity was extended to include Helius and Zeus.

The material suggests that three sets of distinctions be maintained. First, we must be ready to accept differences between the portrayals of Sarapis in the old Pharaonic capital of Memphis and in the cosmopolitan, hellenized city of Alexandria. Second, we should distinguish between the views of officials of the Ptolemaic court, independent theological writers, and pious laymen. Third, it will be useful to recognize which gods were only associated with Sarapis on the basis of some similarity of personality or iconography and which were actually identified with him and helped form the syncretistic "matter" of his godhead.

B. The Introduction of Sarapis

An essential *terminus post quem* for our investigation is the date at which Sarapis first became known to the Greeks. Determining the date is complicated by the terminology of modern scholars, who in addition to the relatively neutral "introduction" of god, cult or statue, also use phrases such as the "creation of Sarapis," the "creation of his cult," or his "Hellenization."

The most detailed, and in Roman times the most familiar, account of his introduction described how King Ptolemy was visited in a dream by a god later identified as Sarapis, who commanded him to bring the god's statue from Sinope to Alexandria. After some vacillation and a second epiphany, the king obeyed the command. The embassy despatched to bring the statue received the blessing of the Delphic oracle and overcame the objections of some of the people of Sinope, so that Ptolemy was able to install the god's image in the Serapeum at Alexandria. According to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 361F-362A)[1] and Tacitus (*Historiae*, IV, 83-84) it was

[1] J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cardiff, 1970), pp. 393-401.

Ptolemy I who did this, but Tacitus also knew versions which named Ptolemy III as the king responsible. The sources cited by Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus*, IV, 48, 1-3) all seem to have assigned the credit to Ptolemy II. As for the chronographers, they disagree. Jerome in the Greek version (Eusebius, II, p. 119, ed. Schöne) seems to record 286 B.C. as the year of the introduction of the statue, under Ptolemy I; but the Armenian version (Eusebius, II, p. 120, ed. Schöne) gives 278 B.C., during the reign of Ptolemy II, as the date. In addition, Cyril (*Adversus Iulianum*, I, 13) places it in Olympiad 124 (284-281 B.C.), which includes the reigns of both the first and the second Ptolemy,[1] though he specifies Ptolemy II. The archaeological evidence is equally ambiguous. Finds at the site of the Alexandria Serapeum are ascribed to dates throughout the later pharaonic period, beginning in the twelfth dynasty,[2] and at least one building there could date from anywhere in the fourth or early third century.[3] The major temple within the complex, however, is definitely identified as the work of Ptolemy III by the four sets of foundation plaques which name him and his queen as the founders; dedication plaques also identify a smaller shrine of Harpocrates adjoining the larger temple as a project of Ptolemy IV.[4] Picard argues on the basis of these dedication plaques that Ptolemy III introduced the cult to Alexandria,[5] but strictly speaking these plaques refer only to one set of structures within the Serapeum complex at Alexandria, and need not indicate anything about the date of the cult's introduction. Available archaeological evidence might suggest that Ptolemy II was responsible for the project, for an altar and statue base found at the Serapeum bear the names of Ptolemy and Arsinoe Philadelphus.[6] Furthermore, Ptolemy II

[1] Fraser, *Current problems*, p. 25. According to A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (*Münchener Beiträge*, Heft 43; 1962), pp. 25-28, the joint regency of Ptolemy I and II lasted from 285 B.C. till the father's death in 282 B.C.

[2] A. Rowe and B. R. Rees, *A contribution to the archaeology of the western desert*: IV. *The great Serapeum of Alexandria*, in *BRL*, XXXIX (1956-1957), pp. 507-508.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 491-495, 505, 510.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 487-490, 506.

[5] Picard, *Statues Ptolémaïques*, pp. 30-47.

[6] Rowe and Rees, *op. cit.*, pp. 505 and 510.

founded the "daughter library" at the Serapeum,[1] and therefore the Serapeum must have been standing during his reign.

Modern scholarship has tended to push the date of the introduction back into the reign of Ptolemy I, both because the main narratives in Plutarch, Tacitus and Clement all agree on the point and because a set of testimonia shows that Sarapis was known in the last two or three decades of the fourth century B.C. However, the legend as preserved in these sources concerning the introduction of Sarapis does not necessarily refer to the introduction of the god himself, but rather only to his statue.

Whether the statue actually came from Sinope or not is not clear. On the one hand, there is the elaborate tradition repeated by Tacitus, Plutarch and Clement, and more peripherally a statement ascribed by Diogenes Laertius (VI, 63) to Diogenes the Cynic, whose home was in Sinope. According to the anecdote, he responded to the news that Alexander had assumed the attributes of Dionysus with, "Well, make me Sarapis." [2] On the other hand, Wilcken produced compelling arguments to show that the derivation from Sinope was a misunderstanding, based on a term "Sinopites Zeus" applied to Sarapis in view of his origin at Memphis—"Sinopion," as Eustathius explained (*Commentarium in Dionysii Periegesim*, 255), was the name of the desert slope at Memphis.[3] It does seem, however, that the "Sinope-tradition" had been formulated by the middle of the reign of Ptolemy II: this may at least be the implication of two documents recounting dream appearances by Sarapis similar to those involving Ptolemy, but to men of lower standing. One is a papyrus written in 257 B.C., in which Sarapis commands

[1] H. Keil, *Ioannis Tzetzae scholiorum in Aristophanem prolegomena*, in *RhM*, VI (1848), p. 117; Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, 9, 166B and 11, 168C.

[2] κἀμὲ Σάραπιν ποιήσατε. Cf. J. Servais, *Alexandre-Dionysos et Diogène Sarapis*, in *AC*, XXVIII (1959), pp. 98-106.

[3] *UPZ*, pp. 78-79. A problem with this explanation, apart from Eustathius' late date, is that "Sinopion" is not readily identifiable as an Egyptian name. R. Stiehl, *The origin of the cult of Sarapis*, in *HR*, III (1963), pp. 21-33, has argued that Sarapis came from Sinope and not from Egypt, reviving a view that had been popular before Wilcken published *UPZ*. Her argument makes the questionable assumption that the statue and god are identical, and takes no account of the overwhelming evidence that the ancients thought of Sarapis as an Egyptian god.

Zoilus of Aspendus to build him a temple.[1] The other, an inscription from Delos, recounts how Sarapis used dreams to encourage the Egyptian priest Apollonius to dedicate a temple to Sarapis on Delos. The inscription is dated about 200 B.C., but the events occurred two generations earlier, apparently in the reign of Ptolemy I or II.[2] Most probably such nocturnal encounters with the god were quite common, even though only these two testimonials have survived. Such small-scale epiphanies strongly indicate that in the middle of the third century it was already common knowledge that Sarapis had appeared to the king in dreams more than once. Some elements in the accounts of Tacitus, Plutarch, and Clement may well be later additions,[3] but the dream and Sinope motifs are so basic to this version that it seems best to consider both as essential parts from the beginning.

As we are about to see, Sarapis' name was surely known early in the reign of Ptolemy I. But it may well be true that the famous statue of Sarapis at Alexandria (of which a reconstruction will be proposed in Chapter II) was not installed until late in his reign. Perhaps it happened during the transition to his son's reign, which would help explain the confusion in the current sources. Such a date at the end of the first Ptolemy's reign can, of course, be little more than a hypothesis. The important point, and one worth repeating, is that the "Sinope-tradition" involves the introduction of a statue, and not the introduction of a new god.[4] When historians

[1] *PCairoZenon*, I, 59034 (*PSI*, IV, 435; *SB*, III, 6713).

[2] *CE*, 1 (*IG*, XI, 4, 1299; *SIG*[3], II, 644). Detailed commentary by H. Engelmann, *Die Delische Sarapisaretalogie* (*Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie*, No. 15; Meisenheim am Glan, 1964).

[3] The earliest Sarapis, for instance, does not seem to have the Cerberus and snake which Plutarch mentions: compare Chapter II below.

[4] This point has been made by Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], IV, 1, p. 436, n. 3: "Religionen lassen sich nicht auf Kommando ins Leben rufen; es ist also ganz töricht, wie das hin und wieder geschieht, Ptolemaeos Soter oder seine Hoftheologen Manethos und den Eumolpiden Timotheos aus Athen als Stifter einer neuen Religion hinzustellen", and by Welles, *Discovery*, pp. 284-285: "One can create an image or a cult, but no one ancient or modern ever created a god". Still, the term "create" persists, as in these statements by Kiessling, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXIV (1949), p. 317: "Le roi Ptolémée Ier créa le nouveau dieu", by Nilsson, *GGR*[2], II, p. 129: "von dem ersten Ptolemäer geschaffen", and by Fraser, *Current problems*, p. 29: "the god he

of religion refer to the introduction, Hellenization, or creation of Sarapis in connection with this tradition, they identify the god with the image, and assume that the installation of the statue was the founding act of the new cult. The chapters that follow argue that this is not necessarily the case.

Several widely scattered but well known references provide the evidence that Sarapis was familiar in the reign of Ptolemy I. Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, I, 20, 16) mentions a Sarapis oracle given to King Nicocreon of Cyprus, and Nicocreon died in 312/311 B.C. Heraclides of Pontus, who died in 310 B.C., is quoted (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* , 361F) in a passage which identifies the god of Canopus (Sarapis) as Pluto. And Menander included the line "How holy is the god Sarapis!" in one of his plays before his death in 290 B.C.[1] Thus, if we use the *name* Sarapis as a touchstone for the introduction, it cannot be later than fairly early in the reign of Ptolemy I, even if we accept a later date for the installation of the statue.

Still other passages which use the name "Sarapis" point beyond the time of the first Ptolemy to that of Alexander himself. The remark of Diogenes already cited presupposes that Alexander is still alive. Two of the Alexander Lives (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 76, and Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII, 26, 2) mention a temple of Sarapis in Babylon in 323 B.C., and state that the god was consulted when Alexander was on his death-bed. John Malalas (p. 192, ed. Bonn) and Suidas (s.v. Σάραπις) both record that Alexander founded a temple for Sarapis, and according to the Alexander Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes (I, 30-33) Sarapis played an important role in the founding of Alexandria, during which Alexander commissioned his architect Parmenion to build a temple for the god.[2] None of these

had created". An early and extreme statement of this position is by Dieterich, in *Kleine Schriften*, p. 159: "Es ist ein religionsgeschichtlich einzig dastehender Vorgang, dass ein König und seine Kultusminister im geheimen Kabinett einen Gott gemacht haben".

[1] ὡς σεμνὸς ὁ Σάραπις θεός, fr. 139, ed. Körte (*POxy*, XV, 1803, lines 9-10). Compare O. Weinreich, *Sarapis bei Menander*, in *Aegyptus*, XI (1931), pp. 13-15 and Vidman, *Isis*, pp. 31-32.

[2] A papyrus from Tebtynis (*PCairoZenon*, III, 59355, lines 102-103 and 128) demonstrates that Parmenion's Serapeum existed in 243 B.C., apparently before the building activity of Ptolemy III.

sources can claim responsible authority: the Diogenes incident sounds apocryphal; the Sarapis temple in Babylon may be explained away as a temple of some native god identified as Sarapis by later Greek writers; Malalas, Suidas and Pseudo-Callisthenes are notorious as repositories of erroneous information. Yet the tradition that Alexander founded a temple for Sarapis was current by the end of the Hellenistic period, as proven by a papyrus in which Alexander addresses the god, dated on palaeographical grounds to the first century B.C.[1] As further evidence that Alexander patronized Sarapis, Prof. C.B. Welles has cited an inscription from deep inside the Seleucid empire, far from Ptolemaic influence, which invokes the name of Sarapis. According to Welles, this proves that the cult was introduced into Persia by Alexander after he had encountered the Egyptian form of Sarapis at the founding of Alexandria.[2] Fraser, in turn, has rejected this view, on the grounds that more compelling evidence points to Ptolemy I as creator of the Sarapis cult.[3]

There is, however, no contradiction between the Alexander-tradition and the Sinope-tradition unless we assume that the installation of the statue is the same as the creation of the god. The evidence does not compel us to see Ptolemy I as anything more than a major patron of the cult, probably responsible for installing the Alexandrian statue. This in itself does not mean that he created either the god or his cult. The name of Sarapis and the characteristic powers of his deity seem to provide a more reasonable touchstone for identifying the point at which he first appeared than does the installation of the statue. And the cumulative weight of the evidence strongly suggests that his name, in the Hellenized form "Sarapis," was known before the death of Alexander—this is certainly true of the still vaguely Egyptian form "Oserapis" which appears in the Curse of Artemisia, from Memphis in the middle of the fourth century. As for the special powers and interests of the later Sarapis figure, they are already present in the λυχνάπτιον-

[1] *PMilVogl*, I, 21. Compare R. Merkelbach, *Alexander im Serapeum*, in *APF* XVII (1960), pp. 108-109.

[2] *SEG*, XX, 325. Compare Welles, *Discovery*, pp. 290-293.

[3] *Current problems*, pp. 25-35. Compare in general Vidman, *Isis*, pp. 19-26.

inscription of the fourth century, also from Memphis, which seems to allude to the healing power of Sarapis, and which Wilcken took as proof of the presence of a Hellenized god at Memphis.[1] It is also interesting that Sarapis appears to Alexander in a dream in Pseudo-Callisthenes, and is invoked for Alexander's health in the passages from the Lives.[2]

It is surely best to avoid the common assertion that Sarapis was "created" by one of the Ptolemies. The ancient sources never say that Ptolemy created Sarapis, and in fact Athenodorus, Tacitus and Pseudo-Callisthenes state clearly that his cult had been conducted on the hill of Rhacotis from high antiquity. Plutarch's account (*De Iside et Osiride*, 362A) implies the same view, for in it Timotheus and Manetho convince the king that the statue of Pluto imported from Sinope is really Sarapis, which must mean that he was a god worshipped there in Alexandria all along. In the Alexander Romance it is a traditional Egyptian deity, already at home on the site of Alexandria, for whom Alexander commissions a temple. What is described as new in Plutarch, Tacitus and Clement is the statue imported by Ptolemy, which represented Sarapis in the style of the Greek Pluto. This statue enriched the texture of the Sarapis conception, by presenting Osiris-Apis to the Greeks as a Greek god,[3] and illustrating the close connection between Osiris and Pluto in a visually compelling way. Phidias'

[1] *UPZ*, p. 35. The name of the god is missing, but because this inscription, found in the Memphis Serapeum, refers to a healing god, Wilcken connected it with the hellenized Sarapis rather than the pharaonic Osorapis or Asclepius. Topographical aspects of this inscription are discussed in Picard, *Statues Ptolémaïques*, pp. 175-180.

[2] This is of course not conclusive, since if these passages are not authentic, they may be derived from the later, standard conception of Sarapis.

[3] That he was presented in a Greek pose and with Greek iconography does not, however, mean that he was not thought of as an Egyptian god. On the contrary, Plutarch's account shows that the official court version saw his original nature as Egyptian, Phylarchus' fourth-century identification of him with the Apis bull shows that disinterested theological writers also assigned his origin to Egypt, and the documents of popular religion consistently invoke him in the context of other Egyptian gods. Hence it is amazing to find Brady, *Reception*, p. 29, write of "Sarapis, who had never been an Egyptian god". It is true that he did not appeal strongly to the Egyptian natives, but it is also true that the Greeks considered him a peculiarly Egyptian god. Compare Vidman, *Isis*, pp. 46-47.

statue of Zeus at Olympia furnishes a close analogy: Quintilian wrote (*Institutiones Oratoriae*, XII, 10, 9) that the sculptor of this statue had added something significant to the traditional conception of Zeus; yet no one would contend that the Zeus worshipped at Olympia after 420 B.C. was any different in his basic godhead from the Zeus worshipped there during the preceding centuries.

Hence, it seems better to use such terms as "the creation of the Sarapis cult" or "the introduction of a Hellenized image" rather than "the creation of the god." A legitimate working hypothesis might be expressed in the following way: Alexander encountered the shrine of a local Egyptian deity, most probably Osiris, in one of the native villages on the site of Alexandria, and showed proper devotion by commissioning a new structure for that god. Possibly this Osiris was connected in some way with the Osiris-Apis of Memphis and the Hellenized form "Sarapis" first gained currency at the founding of the city. (An alternative guess might see Alexander as bringing the name from Memphis himself, after his encounter there with the Apis shrine mentioned by Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 1, 4.) Under Ptolemy I a new cult statue in Greek style was introduced into the temple Alexander had commissioned. This statue represented the traditional god Osiris-Apis, but with a new appearance that was a major element in the formulation of the new theology of Sarapis as a syncretistic divinity. The chapters that follow, by defining the elements in that theology, and determining the date of their introduction, attempt to reconstruct the role that Sarapis played under the early Ptolemies and to document his importance in the religious life of the Hellenistic period.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HELLENISTIC ICONOGRAPHY OF SARAPIS

A. The "Canonical" Image

The most familiar representation of Sarapis presents a seated god, wearing both a tunic-like chiton and a loose fitting himation, with a basket-shaped calathus on his head.[1] The left hand is usually raised to hold a spear or scepter and the right rests on the three-headed Cerberus who sits beside the throne. The god's thick hair falls around the face and behind the neck in heavy strands, forming three, four, or five undulant arrowpoints on the forehead. The beard is equally luxuriant, full of curls, and divided into roughly symmetrical right and left halves; viewed in profile, two vertical planes are visible below the lip, a high forward one, and a low receding one; on most examples the moustache curls up at its left end and down at the right.[2]

More statues and busts represent this type of Sarapis than any other extant type. As a result, authorities on Hellenistic art have generally identified it as the type of the cult statue in the great Serapeum at Alexandria. A passage of Athenodorus cited by Clement has prompted many to ascribe this type to Bryaxis, the fourth-century sculptor:

> But Athenodorus the son of Sandon, though he intended to make Sarapis seem very ancient, tripped up somehow and proved that he was an artificially manufactured statue. He says that Sesostris, the Egyptian king, having subdued most of the nations around Greece, brought back on his return home

[1] Picard, *Manuel*, IV, 2, pp. 880-883. Compare C. Pietrangeli, *Relievo votivo con divinità alessandrine da Via della Conciliazione*, in *Capitolium*, XVII (1942), pp. 130-138.

[2] A detailed discussion of the arrangement of the beard of the canonical Sarapis is given by T. Kraus, *Sarapiskopf aus Oxyrhynchos*, in *JDAI*, LXXV (1960), pp. 88-99, esp. pp. 91-95.

> to Egypt skilled artists. He gave them orders that his ancestor Osiris be lavishly fashioned, and the work was prepared by the master Bryaxis—not the Athenian, but another of the same name as that Bryaxis—who in fashioning it used an elaborate variety of materials ... and mixed them all together with the dye left over from the funeral of Osiris and Apis to produce Sarapis. Even his name hints at the connection with the funeral and the workmanship of the grave, since it is a compound of Osiris and Apis, Osirapis. (*Protrepticus*, IV, 48) [1]

This passage really offers little support to any theory, since Athenodorus stated specifically that the Bryaxis he meant was *not* the famous one and that the statue he meant was not the Hellenic one. Even Clement seemed aware that something was wrong with Athenodorus' account. Still, Bryaxis' name would hardly have been connected with Sarapis unless he had actually had something to do with some famous statue of the god. Working on this assumption, many scholars have made fine observations of stylistic similarities to argue that the canonical type is based on an original by Bryaxis.[2] On the other hand, other scholars have made equally fine observations, on stylistic grounds, to deny the

[1] ἀλλ' ὅ γε Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ τοῦ Σάνδωνος ἀρχαΐζειν τὸν Σάραπιν βουληθεὶς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ περιέπεσεν, ἐλέγξας αὐτὸν ἄγαλμα εἶναι γενητόν· Σέσωστρίν φησι τὸν Αἰγύπτιον βασιλέα, τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παραστησάμενον ἐθνῶν, ἐπανελθόντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐπαγαγέσθαι τεχνίτας ἱκανούς· τὸν οὖν Ὄσιριν τὸν προπάτορα τὸν αὑτοῦ δαιδαλθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς πολυτελῶς, κατασκευάζει δὲ αὐτὸν Βρύαξις ὁ δημιουργός, οὐχ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἄλλος δέ τις ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ τῷ Βρυάξιδι· ὃς ὕλῃ κατακέχρηται εἰς δημιουργίαν μικτῇ καὶ ποικίλῃ .... καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς Ὀσίριδος καὶ τοῦ Ἄπιος κηδείας ὑπολελειμμένῳ φαρμάκῳ φυράσας τὰ πάντα διέπλασεν τὸν Σάραπιν· οὗ καὶ τοὔνομα αἰνίττεται τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς κηδείας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς δημιουργίαν, σύνθετον ἀπό τε Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ἄπιος γενόμενον Ὀσίραπις.

[2] M. Egger, *Bryaxis et l'Apollon de Daphné*, in *REG*, II (1889), pp. 102-106; S. Reinach, *Le moulage des statues et le Sérapis de Bryaxis*, in *RA*, 3e Sér., XLI (1902), pp. 5-21; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *La politique religieuse de Ptolémée Soter et le culte de Sérapis*, in *RHR*, XLVI (1902), pp. 24-28; W. Amelung, *Saggio sull' arte del IV secolo av. Christo*, in *Ausonia*, III (1908), pp. 115-135; J. Six, *Asklepios by Bryaxis*, in *JHS*, XLII (1922), pp. 31-35; G. Lippold, *Serapis und Bryaxis*, in *Festschrift Paul Arndt* (Munich, 1925), pp. 115-127; J. Jonkees, *New statues by Bryaxis*, in *JHS*, LXVIII (1948), pp. 29-39; L. Budde, *Ein Zeuskopf im Fitzwilliam Museum zu Cambridge*, in *AA*, LXVII (1952), pp. 102-123; Picard, *Statues Ptolémaïques*, p. 35, n. 2, and *Manuel*, IV, 2, pp. 871-894.

attribution to Bryaxis, to view it as a conservative work of the fourth century,[1] as a product of the Lysippan school,[2] as typical of the third century B.C.,[3] or as a work of Hadrianic classicism.[4] It may be significant that none of the extant examples of this type are earlier than the Roman imperial period,[5] and all the literary descriptions of this type are likewise Roman in date.[6] Rather than add more mud to the already murky waters of stylistic analysis, it seems safer here to use iconography as a chronological guide. Iconography can be especially helpful both in defining the religious features of the Sarapis figure and in determining the role of the royal theologians in its early development, since they must have helped dictate the iconography of the official cult images at Alexandria and Memphis. Stylistic details in handling of face and hair, on the contrary, or even a basic mood of "worldliness" or "otherworldliness" [7] do not necessarily spring from faith in the god being portrayed, but tend to reflect the artistic conventions of the sculptor's age, or his own genius. If, however, we can show which attributes were part of the earliest representations of Sarapis, we can feel more confident about how the Ptolemaic establishment which commissioned the statues viewed the god's role and nature.

[1] A. Adriani, *Alla ricerca di Briasside*, in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Memorie*, Cl. di Scienze Morali, 8 Ser., 1, No. 10 (1948), pp. 435-473.

[2] A. Michaelis, *Sarapis standing on a Xanthian marble*, in *JHS*, VI (1885), pp. 287-318.

[3] I. Levy, *Sarapis*, in *RHR*, LXVII (1913), pp. 308-317; D. Hill, *Material on the cult of Sarapis*, in *Hesperia*, XV (1946), pp. 60-72; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*[2] (New York, 1961), p. 83.

[4] L. Castiglione, *Les statues de culte hellénistique du Sarapieion d'Alexandrie*, in *Bulletin du Musée National Hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, XII (1958), pp. 17-39.

[5] T. Kraus, *Sarapiskopf aus Oxyrhynchos*, in *JDAI*, LXXV (1960), pp. 88-99, argued against Castiglione that the canonical type is earlier than Hadrian, yet not even his examples are later than the first century A.D.

[6] Pseudo-Callisthenes and Plutarch both describe the statue in connection with events in the fourth and third centuries B.C., but it is not surprising that their descriptions reflect the iconography familiar at the time they were writing rather than an archaeologically precise description of the image standing centuries earlier.

[7] For example, J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie* (Leipzig, 1871), I, pp. 305-309, distinguished two types, of which "die erstere den Charakter milden, zum Theil etwas schwermütigen Ernstes mit sehr edeln Formen verbindet, während die zweite finsterer und bewegter im Ausdruck und beträchtlich weniger edel in der Formenauffassung ist".

The Cerberus which accompanied the canonical image, for example, is usually understood to be a symbol of the underworld, and to certify the chthonic nature of Sarapis' godhead. R. Pettazzoni [1] has expressed a different opinion, however, and interpreted the Cerberus as a symbol of time, quoting Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, I, 20, 13-15). He connected the animal with a solar aspect of Sarapis, on the grounds that Helius Sarapis would naturally control time and that the (new) god of Alexandria needed a claim to eternity oriented to the future, in order to rival the ancient gods of Thebes and Memphis. Pettazzoni denied that Sarapis' *triciput animans* was the Greek hound of Hades, but rather a lion with extra heads, one of a wolf and one of a dog, and several of the preserved monuments do seem more leonine than canine [2]; others, though, are unmistakeably canine.[3] Certainly the snake which surrounds the animal even in Macrobius suggested chthonic associations, even if it also suggested parallels to the iconography of Aion, the personification of Eternity.[4] The solar connection of Cerberus is best seen as a reflection of Macrobius' speculation in the early fifth century A.D.; he cites (*Saturnalia*, I, 20, 16-17) the Nicocreon oracle, ostensibly of the fourth century B.C., in support of his view that Sarapis was the sun, yet the oracle itself does not mention Cerberus. More authentic indications of Cerberus' meaning to Greeks in the Hellenistic age are the passages of Euripides (*Hercules Furens*, 611), Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*, II, 5, 12) and Diodorus (I, 96, 6) [5] which place him in a funerary context. The only unequivocally Hellenistic Cerberus figures which are in any way associated with the Sarapis cult are from Memphis, though the connection is vague and Cerberus is not presented as an attribute of the god.[6] Still, his presence does

[1] *Il "Cerbero" di Sarapide*, in *Mélanges Ch. Picard*, *RA*, 6e Sér., XXIX-XXXI (1948), pp. 803-809.

[2] H. Brising, *Antik Konst i Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm, 1911), pl. 34; E. Breccia, *Monuments de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine* (Bergamo, 1926-1934), II, 1, pl. 40.9 and 11; other examples are listed by Michaelis in *JHS*, VI (1885), pp. 292-294.

[3] L. Pernier and L. Banti, *Guida degli Scavi Italiani in Creta* (Rome, 1947), pp. 23-24, fig. 30.

[4] Pettazzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 809. Compare p. 84 below. [5] P. 18, n. 4 below.

[6] C. Picard, *Autour du Sarapieion de Memphis*, in *RA*, 6e Sér., XLVII (1956), pp. 73-74, and *Statues Ptolémaïques*, p. 182, fig. 91.

hint at a funerary orientation to the Sarapis cult at Memphis. Otherwise, however, Cerberus as an attribute of Sarapis does not seem to appear until the Roman imperial period. Within the relatively firm chronological framework which coins supply, the earliest evidence for a Cerberus with Sarapis is in the reign of Claudius.[1] His first appearance on Alexandrian coins is under Nero.[2] Cerberus may have become connected with Sarapis because of a confusion between the Greek dog of the underworld and the Egyptian Anubis in his role as conductor of souls.[3] Diodorus (I, 96, 6) reflected such a confusion in the first century B.C., in his statement that when Hermes Psychopompus brings up the body of the Apis he hands it over to someone wearing a mask of Cerberus.[4] It may have been shortly after this that the confusion was resolved by the addition of a Cerberus to Sarapis' iconography, and that Sarapis (with Cerberus) received an explicit role as the leader of the dead, a role indicated by the two epithets σωτὴρ καὶ ψυχοπομπός, which Aelius Aristides (XLV, 25) applied to Sarapis.[5]

B. The Hellenistic Image at Memphis

Of the extant representations of Sarapis, relatively few can be confidently assigned to the Hellenistic age, but one that can be is a silver figurine from a Hellenistic context at Paramythia in Epirus.[6] The god is standing, wears an elaborate chiton and himation, has a calathus on his head, holds a cornucopiae in the left hand and a

[1] F. Imhoof-Blümer, *Monnaies Grecques* (Amsterdam, 1883), p. 415, 173. On the standing Sarapis with Cerberus, see R. Salditt-Trappmann, *Tempel der Ägyptischen Götter in Griechenland und an der Westküste Kleinasiens* (*Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain*, No. 15: Leiden, 1970), pp. 57-58.

[2] G. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* (Cairo, 1901), 280.

[3] For example, *CE*, 49, Ἀνούβι Ἡγεμόνι, Σαράπι Σωτῆρι, Ἴσι Σωτείρᾳ. Compare Hopfner, *Fontes*, index, under "Anubis".

[4] τὸν μὲν γὰρ ψυχοπομπὸν Ἑρμῆν κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν νόμιμον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἀναγαγόντα τὸ τοῦ Ἄπιδος σῶμα μέχρι τινὸς παραδιδόναι τῷ περικειμένῳ τὴν τοῦ Κερβέρου προτομήν.

[5] I. Lévy, *Sarapis*, in *RHR*, LXIII (1911), pp. 137-147, placed the introduction of the Cerberus in the reign of Ptolemy IV or later.

[6] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Silver Plate in the British Museum* (London, 1921), p. 3, 6. Our Fig. 1.

patera in the right. Several other examples of the type, though less securely dated, may well be Hellenistic.[1] The iconography of this type stresses the chthonic element of the divinity as the provider of the fruits of the earth symbolized by calathus and cornucopiae, with other underworld aspects indicated by the patera and chiton. We may venture to assign the prototype of this group to the Hellenistic Serapeum at Memphis, both because there the sepulcher of the Apis bull was a perpetual reminder of Osiris' chthonic connections, and because this iconography accords with the conception of the god which prevailed at Memphis, as indicated by other types of evidence.[2]

The only representation of Sarapis which has been found at the site of the Memphis Serapeum is a herm with the god's head surmounted by a calathus. The philosopher who leans on the herm has been identified as Demetrius of Phalerum. Since Demetrius was very powerful under Ptolemy I but opposed the accession of Ptolemy II and fell promptly from favor when he became king, it is very likely that the herm reflects the iconography of the Memphis statue during the reign of Ptolemy I.[3] This statement seems tenable, but is open to objection on several grounds. First, the herm was not necessarily inspired by the cult statue at Memphis, especially since the hair on the herm is rendered in several shallow waves extending down the forehead, in contrast to the two symmetrical

[1] A. Michaelis, in *JHS*, VI (1885), pp. 287-318, pl. 58; M. Bulard, *Bas-relief se rapportant au culte d'Agathodaimon*, in *BCH*, XXXI (1907), pp. 525-529, compare *GGR*[2], II, p. 216, n. 1; R. du Mesnil du Buisson, *La ṣîṣît du Sérapis de Génève*, in *Genava*, N. S., I (1953), pp. 9-10.

[2] F. von Bissing, *Aegyptische Kultbilder der Ptolemaier- und Römerzeit*, in *Der Alte Orient*, XXXIV (1936), No. 1/2, p. 16, remarking on the Dionysiac character of this type: "Ihn finden wir wieder im griechischen Serapeum von Memphis und es wäre denkbar, dass dort das Kultbild gestanden hat, eher z. B. als in einem der Tempel von Kanopos". T. Kraus, *Alexandrinische Triaden der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in *MDAI(Kairo)*, XIX (1963), pp. 98-99, agreed that it is not an Alexandrian statue, suggesting that it is a product of miniature art. According to Kraus the standing Sarapis is not attested until Vespasian, and he considered the Paramythia statuette to be Agathos Daimon, not Sarapis. He does not mention the other standing examples cited in n. 1 above.

[3] Picard, *Statues Ptolémaïques*, pl. 8, pp. 69-72, 246-254. Compare Picard, *Manuel*, IV, 2, fig. 367.

waves arching over the forehead on the full-length representations which we have taken as reproducing the pose of the Memphis statue. However, this difference in hair style may be little more than an adaptation to the conventions of the herm under Dionysiac influence.[1] Second, Demetrius of Phalerum was more closely associated with the royal palace in Alexandria than with Memphis, and so it may be unlikely that he would be shown with a herm suggesting the statue at Memphis. However, during the reign of Ptolemy I there was not necessarily any clear connection between the Museum of which Demetrius was a member and the Great Serapeum of Alexandria. Demetrius wrote hymns in honor of Sarapis, but that hardly implies that he was hostile to the cult at Memphis. Third, it is not perfectly clear that the philosopher really is Demetrius. However, no other candidate has been proposed who could be juxtaposed with Sarapis as satisfactorily as Demetrius. Fourth, even if it is Demetrius, the date may be later than Ptolemy I, since any of his successors (except Ptolemy II) may well have included Demetrius, as the founder of the Library and Museum, in a group of poets and scholars.[2] Without relying on the double-edged arguments of stylistic analysis it is difficult to resolve this last objection, except to restate the special popularity of Demetrius under Ptolemy I. Still, even while maintaining that the calathus represents an attribute of the cult image at Memphis, we must admit that our *terminus ante quem* may be as late as the end of the

[1] Picard, *Manuel*, I, figs. 7 (a mask of Dionysus), 48 (a Corinthian sphinx-head with calathus), 54 and 66 (heads from Olympia), 113 (Caryatid from the Treasury of Cnidus at Delphi, wearing a calathus); *ibid.*, IV, 2, figs. 387 (heraldic figure), 389 (Dionysus), and 391 (fourth-century). All are archaic except the last three, which are archaizing. A similar treatment of the hair appears on the Artemisia from Halicarnassus, *ibid.*, IV, 1, fig. 42.

[2] F. Matz, for instance, in *Gnomon*, XXIX (1957), pp. 90-91, dated the group around 176 B.C. on stylistic grounds and the presence of a head (*Statues Ptolémaïques*, fig. 142) which he takes to be the young Ptolemy Philometor. Picard, *Statues Ptolémaïques*, pp. 72-76, on the other hand, argued for a date during the reign of Ptolemy I, on stylistic grounds; in *RA*, 6e Sér., XLVII (1956), p. 69, he argued for the early date on iconographical grounds, noting that documented posthumous representations of Demetrius show him with the snake responsible for his death, and he concludes, "Mais même 'blanchi' un jour, Démétrios de Phalère n'aurait pu reprendre son rang: surtout pas à l'Exèdre, près de Pindare"!

second century B.C. The type may well have originated under Ptolemy I, but iconography alone will not prove it.

If we assume, however, that the type is a product of the reign of Ptolemy I, an intriguing possibility appears. Three of its characteristic attributes—the cornucopiae, the calathus, and the chiton—are frequently found in connection with Anatolian deities.[1] Hence we may well imagine that the sculptor of the Memphis statue was familiar with Asia Minor, and we may remember that Bryaxis, although he studied at Athens, originally came from Caria.[2] It is usually the Sarapis of Alexandria that is attributed to Bryaxis, on the basis of the quotation from Athenodorus of Tarsus which as we have seen appears to reflect some connection between Bryaxis and Sarapis, though not necessarily with the famous image at Alexandria. The standing, "Memphis" type actually has a fairly strong claim to be considered a work of Bryaxis.

Though far from conclusive, stylistic considerations offer some support to the suggestion that the standing type was a work of Bryaxis. Even though the extant representations are all quite small copies, their common pose and drapery recall the Mausolus of Halicarnassus, another statue often attributed to Bryaxis.[3] Certainly the Sarapis and Mausolus are both compatible with Libanius' description of Bryaxis' style on the statue of Apollo at Daphne near Antioch:

> Gentlemen, I draw my soul on to the image of the god, and mentally set before my eyes the representation—the gentleness of its form, the softness of the neck in the stone, the girdle that

[1] The first statue to wear a calathus and hold a cornucopiae was the Tyche at Smyrna made by Bupalus of Chius (Pausanias, IV, 30, 6); the Anatolian pedigree of the calathus is discussed by V. K. Müller, *Der Polos, die Griechische Götterkrone* (Berlin, 1915), pp. 68, 71-74. On the chiton as an Anatolian phenomenon, see G. Lippold, *Serapis und Bryaxis*, in *Festschrift Paul Arndt* (Munich, 1925), pp. 119-120, and Amelung, art. Χιτών, in *R-E*, III, cols. 2330-2335. The Carian god Zeus of Labranda was represented standing with calathus and chiton, compare A. H. Smith, *Recently acquired reliefs in the British Museum*, in *JHS*, XXXVI (1916), pp. 65-69.

[2] E. Loewy, *Inschriften Griechischer Bildhauer* (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 322-323.

[3] W. Amelung, in *Ausonia*, III (1908), p. 123; K. Neugebauer, *Pytheos oder Bryaxis?*, in *JDAI*, LVIII (1943), pp. 84-87.

> draws the golden chiton together around the chest, so that some parts of it are held tight, and others billow up. Whose mind, no matter how agitated, would the whole work not have laid to rest? For it was fashioned to resemble the singer of a song, and they say that it was like hearing the god play a cithera at noon-day. (*Orationes*, LX, 11) [1]

This statue, holding a patera, is represented on a tetradrachm of Antiochus Epiphanes (167 B.C.).[2] The belt which Libanius mentioned in his description is lacking on the coin's Apollo, but is a feature of the standing Sarapis.

At the very least, Bryaxis' claim to be the sculptor of the Memphis statue would seem to be no more tenuous than his claim on the Alexandrian one.[3] It is remarkable in this connection that Athenodorus, in what is the only extant literary connection of Bryaxis and Sarapis, was alluding specifically to the burial of Apis. That took place, of course, at Memphis.

C. The Hellenistic Image at Alexandria

When we turn to the Alexandria image we have a firmer starting point, in the Ptolemaic coinage of the city. Even so, however, Sarapis appears on only one issue, minted under Ptolemy IV.[4] On it jugate busts of Sarapis and Isis are shown in the pose usually

[1] Ἄνδρες, ἕλκομαι τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὸ εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ καί μοι πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἵστησιν ὁ λογισμὸς τὸν τύπον, ἡμερότητα μορφῆς, ἁπαλότητα δέρης ἐν λίθῳ, ζωστῆρα περὶ τῷ στήθει συνάγοντα χιτῶνα χρυσοῦν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν ἐνιζάνειν, τὰ δὲ ὑπανίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ ὅλον σχῆμα τίνος οὐκ ἂν ζέοντα ἐκοίμισε θυμόν; ἐῴκει γὰρ ᾄδοντι μέλος. καί πού τις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤκουσεν, ὥς φασιν, ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ κιθαρίζοντος.

[2] C. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (London, 1955), p. 231 and pl. 53, 9; M. Egger, in *REG*, II (1889), pp. 102-106.

[3] A. Michaelis, in *JHS*, VI (1885), p. 291: "It appears to me inconsistent with sound historical method to mix up the completely different tradition of Athenodoros with that relative to Sinope so as to attribute the Greek statue to Bryaxis who is named only in the former tradition, and to identify this artist, notwithstanding the express warning of Athenodoros, with the Athenian companion of Skopas". Compare C. Robert, art. *Bryaxis*, in *R-E*, III, col. 917.

[4] I. Svoronos, Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων (Athens, 1904), 1123, 1124, 1136, 1136a, 1186. Our Fig. 2.

reserved for the ruling king and queen. He wears a chiton, and his hair is unruly, with a short beard and full moustache. The headdress is not the calathus so typical later, but rather appears to be a lotus or, perhaps, an adaptation of the Pharaonic "atef"-crown, generally associated with Osiris and consisting of the elongated crown of Upper Egypt with an oval swelling flanked by a pair of ostrich feathers which bend outward at the top.[1] In general, coins of the Hellenistic period depict Sarapis wearing either a lotiform headdress or the globe and plumes usually associated with Isis.[2] Not until the end of the Hellenistic period does the calathus appear, on coins of Perinthus in Thrace [3] and on Rhodes.[4] There are only two exceptions of which I am aware. One is a coin of Syracuse dated "after 212 B.C." on which a naked male figure wears a calathus,[5] but it is represented in an Egyptianizing style so different from the usual Sarapis figures that it is irrelevant to this discussion. The other is a coin of Catana dated to the period before the Roman conquest with a Janiform head of Sarapis.[6] Here again the representation is unusual for a coin, and seems to recall indirectly the herm of the Memphis Serapeum.

Apart from coins a Sarapis with lotus headdress is very rare,[7]

[1] Abd el Monem Joussef Abubakr, *Untersuchungen über die Aegyptischen Kronen* (Glückstadt, 1937), pp. 10-24, esp. figs. 12 and 16. Compare J. G. Milne, *Ptolemaic seal impressions*, in *JHS*, XXXVI (1916), pp. 87-101, pl. IV, nos. 38-40.

[2] 221-203 B.C.: Svoronos, *locc. citt.* 181-ca. 174 B.C.: *BMC Ptolemies*, p. 79, 7 and 8 (from Egypt). 170 B.C.: Svoronos, *op. cit.*, 1415 and 1416 (from Alexandria, compare *BMC Seleucid Kings*, p. 38, and *BMC Ptolemies* p. 81). Late Hellenistic: F. Imhoof-Blümer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (Vienna, 1901-1902), I, p. 129 (from Halicarnassus); and *BMC Sicily*, pp. 51, 54, 59-63, 87-90 (from Catana), p. 98 (from Menaenum), and pp. 227-228 (from Syracuse). See in general V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Isis et Sérapis se regardant*, in *RA*, N.S. 1970, pp. 55-80, esp. p. 59.

[3] *BMC Thrace*, p. 147, from the "period of Roman dominion", but before the Empire.

[4] *BMC Caria and the Islands*, p. 268 (43 B.C.-A.D. 96).

[5] *BMC Sicily*, p. 229. On other coins listed there, the same nude figure wears a crescent on his head instead of the calathus.

[6] *BMC Sicily*, p. 54.

[7] An exception is a plaque from Pompeii showing Isis, Harpocrates and Sarapis, V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi* (Paris, 1964), 136 (pl. 9, 1). Sarapis' headgear is probably a lotus, though it looks more like a poorly executed carrot.

and such other details of the coin of Ptolemy IV as chiton, short beard and treatment of hair, are never really paralleled in other representations. The coin was probably issued to commemorate the dedication of the temple which Ptolemy III had begun, but it is unlikely that it showed a likeness of a new (or, indeed, of any) image. Instead, it shows Sarapis and Isis as a divine royal couple, in the pose of the Ptolemaic kings and queens.

Nevertheless, the royal mood on the coin of Ptolemy IV offers an important clue to the appearance of the official statue in Alexandria. It leads us to expect a royal pose; and it is natural to expect that so famous a statue as the Alexandrian Sarapis would have been copied frequently enough that at least some copies would survive until today. An example which both satisfies these expectations and is firmly dated before 166 B.C. is known from Serapeum B at Delos. It is a seated god, wearing a himation loosely draped around his left shoulder and legs, with his torso bare. The right arm is extended, as if to hold a spear or scepter. The head has a fairly short beard, moustache, and rather wavy hair. It did not wear a calathus or, apparently, any special headdress.[1] A very fine headless statue from Rhodes is so similar in iconography that it must surely represent the same prototype as the Delos example.[2] The same is true of a series of reliefs which show the god with the same attributes, in the company of Isis and Anubis, whose presence helps establish that Sarapis really is the god represented.[3] All these statues and reliefs have been discussed by E. Thiemann, and it is interesting that his stylistic analysis assigns them all to various parts of the middle Hellenistic period.[4]

[1] *CE*, pp. 45-46, fig. 7. The head is published by J. Charbonneaux, *Bryaxis et le Sarapis d'Alexandrie*, in *MMAI*, LII (1962), p. 19, fig. 2. Our Fig. 3.

[2] A. Maiuri, *Monumenti di Scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi*, Parte I (*Clara Rhodos*, Vol. II: Rhodes, 1932), p. 19, fig. 8. On this example, the left arm is extended rather than the right.

[3] L. Laurenzi, *Relievi e statue d'arte rodia*, in *MDAI(R)*, LIV (1939), pp. 44-46 (a Rhodian relief in London), our Fig. 4; Maiuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46, fig. 22 (a votive relief in Rhodes); C. Waldstein, *Notes on a collection of ancient marbles*, in *JHS*, VII (1886), p. 249 (a votive relief from Erythrae); and E. Thiemann, *Hellenistische Vatergottheiten* (*Orbis Antiquus*, No. 14; Münster, 1959), p. 121 (a relief in Samos).

[4] *Op. cit.* His dates for these examples are as follows: London relief, first half of second century B.C. (pp. 71-72 and 135); Rhodes relief, end of second

We may conclude, then, that this type illustrates the Hellenistic image at Alexandria, very probably the one erected under the auspices of Ptolemy I. We know of building projects at the Alexandria Serapeum under the first four Ptolemies (as well as Alexander himself, if the Alexander Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes is to be trusted), but not under any later ruler of the dynasty. Apart from the Egyptian-style image mentioned in the Alexander Romance, we have real evidence for the installation of only one statue at Alexandria before the Roman period. This is the one which Tacitus, Plutarch and Clement described in connection with Ptolemy I. In the absence of other evidence, it is tempting to assume that little new work was done on the temple complex after Ptolemy IV finished it. If that is so, then the chief cult statue throughout the Hellenistic period (and certainly before 166 B.C., the period of the Delos statue) was still the statue installed under Ptolemy I.

D. Summary

Not every Hellenistic figure of Sarapis, of course, was an exact copy of one of these two famous cult statues. Sculptors making votive reliefs and other types of statuary might well take their inspiration from these prototypes in regard to pose and major attributes, but they apparently felt free to adapt and combine individual features.[1] Thus the "Alexandrian" type on the relief from Rhodes bears at least traces of a calathus,[2] heads are turned in different directions, left arms are raised instead of right. One seated example, usually dated to the second century B.C. because of its provenience from Paramythia [3] combines the calathus and chiton of the Memphis type with the seated pose of the Alexandria type—except for the missing Cerberus, and the different treatment

century B.C. (pp. 92 and 138-139); Erythrae relief, end of second century B.C. (pp. 92 and 139); Samos relief, first century B.C. (pp. 121 and 141, and pl. 5).

[1] T. Kraus, *Sarapiskopf aus Oxyrhynchos*, in *JDAI*, LXXV (1960), pp. 93, 96-97.

[2] Our Fig. 4.

[3] C. de Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture Antique et Moderne* (Paris, 1841), III, 670, pl. 398.

of the hair, this example is very similar to the later "canonical" type. In turn, that canonical statue of the Roman Imperial period indicates that the sculptor of the later image in the Alexandria Serapeum borrowed attributes from the two best known Hellenistic representations.

Reconstructing these two major statue types is not a particularly convincing business, with its hypotheses propped upon fragile hypotheses. Still, the reconstructions made here seem as well grounded in the literary evidence and the archaeological data of iconography and style as is the more conventional view of the Alexandrian image. Details of the theory proposed in this chapter may well be wrong—where there are so many gaps in the evidence it can hardly be otherwise. The main points, and the ones in which sheer guesswork plays the smallest role, are that the Alexandria statue of Ptolemy I emphasized the kingly nature of the god, while the one at Memphis emphasized the fruitful blessings of a chthonic god.

CHAPTER THREE

SARAPIS AND PLUTO

A. Ancient Identifications of Sarapis and Pluto

It was a widely held belief in antiquity that Sarapis was essentially the same as Pluto or Dis Pater, god of the underworld. The terms Tacitus used seem to indicate that this was a particularly popular identification.[1] Some, Tacitus said, based the identification on iconographical considerations, while others used a complicated, less direct analysis. Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 362A) ascribed the iconographical method to the Alexandrian theologians, for their conclusion that the statue of Pluto imported from Sinope was really Sarapis was based on the presence of Cerberus and the serpent.[2] The version given in Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus*, IV, 48, 2) also stressed that the statue of "the Egyptian Sarapis" really represented Pluto,[3] as did Cyril of Alexandria (*Adversus Julianum*, I, 13).[4] Artemidorus (*Onirocritica*, V, 93) connected the calathus with an identification of Pluto and Sarapis, and Porphyrius (*De imaginibus*, in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, III, 11, 28) listed chiton, scepter, and positions of hands as symbols of the connections with the underworld and its power, both for destruction and fertility, shared by Pluto and Sarapis.

This dark power also underlines the reasoning which Tacitus viewed as more mystical and abstruse, and which directly or

[1] "Plurimi" believe he is Dis Pater, as opposed to "multi" for Aesculapius, "quidam" for Osiris, and "plerique" for Juppiter.

[2] τῷ Κερβέρῳ τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῷ δράκοντι.

[3] οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σάραπιν) ἱστοροῦσιν χαριστήριον ὑπὸ Σινωπέων Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ τῷ Αἰγυπτίων πεμφθῆναι βασιλεῖ, ὃς λιμῷ τρυχομένους αὐτοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μεταπεμψαμένους σῖτον ἀνεκτήσατο, εἶναι δὲ τὸ ξόανον τοῦτο ἄγαλμα Πλούτωνος.

[4] τὸν Σάραπιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φασὶν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Σινώπης· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ εἶναι τῷ Πλούτωνι ὅθεν καὶ ἱερὸν ἐκτίζετο τῷ ἀγάλματι· ὃ καὶ τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ φωνῇ καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι Ῥάκωτιν· οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὸν Πλούτωνα διὰ τούτου σημαίνουσι, ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τοῖς μνήμασιν γείτονα τὸν νεὼν ἐποιήσαντο.

indirectly portrays Sarapis as lord of the underworld. Artemidorus (*Onirocritica*, V, 26) referred to Sarapis' name as an omen of death, because he has the same "story" as Pluto.[1] The grave epigram of Teitane, who was buried at Sinope in the second century A.D., calls the dead woman a "neighbor of Sarapis," [2] assuming the underworld as a natural part of his jurisdiction. Two (later Roman) grave inscriptions from Lycia provide that the fine for tomb violations be paid to Sarapis and Isis,[3] and a gravestone from Kom el Ahmar in Egypt commends the deceased to Sarapis' care.[4] Aelius Aristides in his Sarapis hymn (XLV, 23-25) praised him as lord of earth, sea, air and clouds, but the earth is assumed as his proper sphere, for he feels it necessary to affirm the god's other roles as additions to the basic chthonian interest.[5] Even in this paradigm of syncretistic thought from the second century A.D., the identification with Pluto, as ruler of the underworld, is the essential part of the conception of Sarapis.

The same thought appears in the oracle which Ammon gave to Alexander in the Alexander Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes (I, 30, 6, and 33, 2).[6] The oracle said that Alexander was to found his city near the island of Proteus, near which "Plutonian Eternity" (Αἰὼν Πλουτώνιος) ruled over the five peaks of the city and made the world revolve on its axes. This god was Sarapis, for immediately after the oracle, Alexander prayed for guidance to the god (still unknown), and in answer was led to the site of the Serapeum and received a vision from Sarapis himself, who was so accommodating as to spell his name for Alexander.

When we turn to sources dating from the Ptolemaic period, we

[1] χθόνιος ὁ θεὸς εἶναι νενόμισται καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει λόγον τῷ Πλούτωνι.

[2] Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 875 (*IGR*, III, 96).

[3] *SIRIS*, 346, θεῷ μεγάλῳ Σ[αράπιδι], from Cordyalla, and *SIRIS*, 347, Εἴσιδι κε Σαράπιδι, from Rhodiapolis.

[4] *SB*, *V*, 7754.

[5] Sarapis is called ὁ γῆς κληροῦχος, compare A. Höfler, *Der Sarapishymnus des Aelios Aristeides* (*Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, No.27, 1935), pp. 82-83, 86-89.

[6] ὦ βασιλεῦ σοι Φοῖβος ὁ μηλοκέρως ἀγορεύει·
εἴ γε θέλεις αἰῶσιν ἀγηράτοισι νεάζειν,
κτίζε πόλιν περίφημον ὑπὲρ Πρωτηίδα νῆσον,
ἧς προκάθητ' Αἰὼν Πλουτώνιος αὐτὸς ἀνάσσων
πενταλόφοις κορυφαῖσιν ἀτέρμονα κόσμον ἑλίσσων.

find at least indirect evidence that Pluto and Sarapis were identified before the end of the fourth century, for Heraclides of Pontus (who died in 310 B.C.) surely meant Sarapis when he wrote that the god of Canopus was Pluto (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 361F).[1] In the third century, Archemachus of Euboea said explicitly that Sarapis was Pluto and Isis was Persephone (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 361F). Diodorus' identification of Pluto and Osiris also, probably, had a Hellenistic source, and the same may well be true of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

Neither Heraclides nor Archemachus are known to have been associated with the Ptolemaic court, and any suggestion as to the source of their ideas would be only a blatant guess. Any cult statue of Sarapis at Canopus in the late fourth century might well be influenced by the Alexandrian iconography, if that statue should be dated early in the reign of Ptolemy I; if it belongs late in his reign, Heraclides may have been the first to articulate the connection with Pluto. It is even possible that he was thinking of a statue of Pluto which he had seen at Sinope; if so, the Alexandrian image made after Heraclides' death may in fact derive from Sinope.

In dealing with a period as poorly documented in general as the early Hellenistic age is, it is dangerous to emphasize an argument from silence. Nevertheless, it is significant that there is no evidence for the identification of Sarapis and Pluto in the cult practice of Hellenistic popular devotion. The only fragment of evidence is that of a certain Iatrocles, a Carian: when he made a dedication at Delos to Pluto and Core of Nysa, he set it up in the Serapeum.[2]

Ptolemy's theologians, however, must have advocated the identi-

[1] ὁ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης τὸ χρηστήριον ἐν Κανώβῳ Πλούτωνος ἡγούμενος εἶναι. The passage does not identify Pluto with Sarapis explicitly, yet in context it is clear that as far as Plutarch was concerned, "the oracle at Canopus" belonged to Sarapis; he cites Heraclides as proof that Sarapis and Pluto were the same. In the first century B.C. Strabo (XVII, 801) described the shrine of Sarapis at Canopus in considerable detail, and mentioned the fame of its incubation cures and its oracles. Since healing was a feature of Sarapis' cult from the time of Ptolemy I (compare Chapter VIII), probably in both Alexandria and Canopus, it is natural to assume that *the* oracle of Canopus in the fourth century was also that of Sarapis.

[2] *CE*, 44, Ἰατροκλῆς Δημαγάθου Ἀθυνβριανὸς Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρει, Δήμητρι, Ἑρμεῖ, Ἀνούβιδι, κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ, dated 255-166 B.C. See Roussel's commentary, *CE*, pp. 108-109, and compare *CE*, 206.

fication of Sarapis with Pluto. Plutarch, Tacitus and Clement all emphasize both the king's role in the importation and installation of the Alexandrian statue, and its iconographical allusions to Pluto. In citing the calathus and Cerberus they were probably influenced by the post-Hellenistic image, but even the Hellenistic iconography suggests Pluto. The standing Hellenistic type (which we have assigned to Memphis) with its calathus, chiton and cornucopia is clearly a chthonic deity. The seated type (which we have assigned to Alexandria) is more subtle, for the scepter and throne suggest kingship, not only of the underworld, but of the living as well.

If we are right in concluding that the "canonical" statue was not installed until the Roman empire, it is interesting that its explicitly chthonic iconography reflects the religious preoccupation with the Beyond [1] prevalent during the later period.

B. The Ptolemies and Sarapis-Pluto

The regal attributes of the Alexandria statue indicate Sarapis' close association with the Ptolemaic dynasty, which at least in its early stages amounted to a special royal sponsorship of the Sarapis cult. Ptolemy I installed the statue of Sarapis, perhaps in a temple which Alexander had commissioned when he laid out the city.[2] Ptolemy II was responsible for installing the daughter library in the Serapeum complex; [3] Ptolemy III erected new buildings and apparently rebuilt many of the structures there.[4] In another section of Alexandria bilingual plaques record the dedication of a temple to Sarapis, Isis, and Ptolemy and Arsinoe Philopator, probably dedicated by Ptolemy IV himself.[5] It was also Ptolemy IV who

[1] *GGR*², II, pp. 711-723.

[2] Compare the Introduction, p. 11 above.

[3] A. Rowe and B. R. Rees, *A contribution to the archaeology of the western desert: IV. The great Serapeum of Alexandria*, in *BRL*, XXIX (1956-1957), pp. 511-512.

[4] *SB*, VI, 9299 and 9301.

[5] M. N. Tod, *A bilingual dedication from Alexandria*, in *JEA*, XXVIII (1942), pp. 53-56, pl. 6, and Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 12, n. 4. The hieroglyphic version is in H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* (Leipzig, 1883-1891), V, 917.

issued a small series of coins showing Sarapis and Isis,[1] apparently to commemorate the completion of his father's Serapeum.

The interest of the Ptolemies in Sarapis was well known.[2] The letter of Zoilus in the Zenon archive mentions the cult as an avenue to royal favor,[3] and a letter from Memphis, written in 161 B.C., ends with the pious wish that Sarapis may grant the addressee a good reputation with the king.[4] As the king in question is Ptolemy VI, and well into the second century (and therefore, according to Fraser, from a time when royal interest in Sarapis was declining) this letter may not necessarily indicate royal interest, but rather be a formulaic close used by Ptolemaeus, a sort of professional devotee of the Memphis Serapeum. On the other hand, the general tone of desperation that pervades the letter suggests that Ptolemaeus was using only his most forceful points here, and that he expected Sarapion, to whom the letter was addressed, to be impressed by the conjunction of Sarapis and the king. Even if the phrase is formulaic, it would point to a time earlier in the dynasty when such sentiments were full of meaning. Petitions addressed to the king and queen from Memphis regularly include prayers to Sarapis (or to Sarapis and Isis) on behalf of the royal family, often with the hope that the gods will grant them dominion and power over the whole world.[5]

A variation of this sort of prayer to Sarapis appears in prayers and sacrifices which the Memphis papyri frequently attest, for the

[1] I. Svoronos, Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, III (Athens, 1904), pl. 36; A. Brett, *Catalogue of Greek Coins* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1955), 2284. Our Fig. 2. V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Isis et Sérapis se regardant*, in *RA*, N.S. 1970, pp. 56-59, 77-80, argued that in addition the pose on the coin suggested propaganda to present the royal couple as divine, and that the motif later gave rise to the concept of Sarapis and Isis as a model couple of marital devotion and happiness.

[2] Fraser, *Two studies*, pp. 1-20, argues that the royal house was enthusiastic about the cult through the third century, but that the later Ptolemies neglected Sarapis in favor of the older, native Egyptian deities.

[3] *PCairoZenon*, I, 59034. Fraser, *Two studies*, pp. 41-42, points out that the king is expected to regard Apollonius' devotion with favor, even as an act of loyalty. At the same time, however, he is not actively encouraging the propagation of the cult.

[4] *UPZ*, 52 and 53: σοὶ δὲ ὁ Σάραπις ἀνδαποδῷ σοὶ χάρειν καὶ μορφὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

[5] *UPZ*, 20 (162 B.C.), and 15 and 16 (156 B.C.).

success, health, and power of the king and queen;[1] in this Ptolemaeus and the twins at Memphis were observing the old tradition in which all divine service was performed in the name of and on behalf of the Pharaoh. Other sources show that throughout the Hellenistic period each temple continued to pray for the new Ptolemaic dynasty to its particular patron deity,[2] but even so Sarapis is mentioned comparatively often in connection with the Ptolemies, as on an inscription dated 93 B.C., from Theadelphia,[3] where a priesthood of Isis Sachypsis ends its request for *asylia* with the reminder that they regularly offer sacrifice and libation on behalf of the king and his family to Isis and Sarapis (and not only to Isis, whose priests they were). Dedications of a temple or gate or the like to Sarapis on behalf of the king and queen are also frequent.[4]

Throughout the first two centuries of the Ptolemaic dynasty, a very close relationship is attested between the cult of the rulers and that of Sarapis. A series of dedications is addressed to Sarapis and Isis along with the reigning king and queen,[5] just as the Pharaohs

[1] *UPZ*, 41 (161/160 B.C.): ἵνα πᾶν τὸ ἐξῆς ἔχουσαι ἐπιτελῶμεν τὰς χοὰς τῶι μεγίστωι θεῶι Σαράπει καὶ τἄλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα συντελῶμεν ὑπέρ τε ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων τέκνων; similar phrases appear in *UPZ*, 42 (162 B.C) and 106 (99 B.C.).

[2] For example, *PSI*, V, 539, of the mid third century B.C., mentions sacrifices made to Isis and Arsinoe Philadelphus at the Iseum in Philadelphia "on behalf of the king"; in *OGIS*, I, 139, from the reign of Ptolemy VIII, the priests of Isis at Philae refer to a lack of material for their customary sacrifices and libations on behalf of the king and queen and their children.

[3] *SB*, III, 6152 and 6153.

[4] A typical formulation is *SB*, V, 8772 (*OGIS*, I, 64), probably from Memphis: ὑπὲρ Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης, θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, καὶ τῶν τέκνων Σαράπιδι Ἴσιδι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν περίβολον Ἀπολλώνιος Φιλίωνος Ἀμμωνιεύς κ.τ.λ. Similar dedications are *SB*, V, 8849 (*OGIS*, I, 21); *SEG*, XVIII, 636; *SIRIS*, 270; *SB*, V, 8769 (*OGIS*, I, 89); *SB*, V, 8869 (*OGIS*, I, 87); O. Rubensohn, *Neue Inschriften aus Aegypten*, in *APF*, V (1913), p. 159, 3; *SB*, V, 8873 (*OGIS*, I, 97); *SEG*, XX, 649; and *SB*, I, 4963, in which however Sarapis' name is restored. Apart from the Sparis of *SB*, V, 8873, these are all made by Greeks rather than Egyptians. Egyptians generally tend to commit the care of the royal house, as also their own needs, to the traditional Pharaonic gods. Greeks are also willing to commend these matters to the traditional gods, both Greek and (after the close of the third century) Egyptian. Compare Brady, *Reception*, pp. 26-29, and Fraser, *Two studies*, pp. 5-9.

[5] Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 5, n. 4, and p. 11, n. 1; L. Robert, *Collection*

had been addressed as divine. Such "double dedications" are less frequent with other gods than with Sarapis and Isis, the royal pair who in many respects form a cosmic counterpart for the man and woman on the throne of Alexandria.[1]

Sarapis and Isis are the only divinities who are specifically named along with the king and queen in the solemn oaths which are recorded in the papyri. The practice does not seem to be restricted to any group or period, for documents preserve the oath formula from all parts of Egypt, sworn both by Egyptians and Greeks, and dating from the reign of Ptolemy III to that of Ptolemy XII.[2] One possibly significant difference has been noticed: Greeks swearing the oath tended to name Sarapis first; Egyptians, Isis.[3]

Of all these manifestations of a connection between the Ptolemies and Sarapis, he and Isis can claim undisputed precedence over other gods only in the double dedications and the royal oath formula. These are exactly the contexts in which the connection with the Ptolemaic royal couple is closest. The series of coins issued by Ptolemy IV, furthermore, portrays Sarapis and Isis in the same

Froehner (Paris, 1936), I, 97, pl. 45; *SB*, I, 585 and 586 (Breccia, *Iscrizioni*, 14 and 15); *SB*, V, 8860 (*OGIS*, I, 62); *OGIS*, I, 63; *SB*, I, 2136; *SB*, V, 8866 (*OGIS*, I, 82); *SB*, I, 631a.

[1] Fraser, Two studies, p. 11, n. 2, lists only two double dedications from Ptolemaic Egypt in which some god other than Sarapis and Isis appears in connection with the royal house, that published by Strack in *APF*, II (1903), p. 550, 32, and *OGIS*, I, 178. The former is highly restored, however, and the second is actually a dedication to Souchos on behalf of the king rather than a double dedication. Other examples have been published: Rubensohn, in *APF*, V (1913), p. 158, 2; *SEG*, XVIII, 700; and T. B. Mitford, *Contributions to the epigraphy of Cyprus*, in *APF*, XIII (1939), p. 24, 12, with new text and commentary by A. Wilhelm, *Griechische Königsbriefe* (*Klio* Beiheft, No. 43, 1943), pp. 48-51. Still, all these examples are later than the third century, and support Fraser's thesis that after Ptolemy III and IV the royal interest in Sarapis' cult declined markedly in favor of native Egyptian gods.

[2] *SB*, I, 5680; *PTeb*, III, 1, 815, fr. 1 verso, col. iv; *PEleph*, 23; *PEnt*, 27 (*PMagd*, 11); *SB*, III, 6261; *PTeb*, III, 1, 810; *PTeb*, I, 78; *BGU*, VIII, 1735; *BGU*, VIII, 1736 (*SB*, IV, 7422); *BGU*, VIII, 1738; *BGU*, VIII, 1739; *BGU*, VIII, 1740; and perhaps *PTeb*, III, 2, 968. Compare *UPZ*, p. 84. Oaths could also be taken by other gods, though then the king and queen are not named, as *PSI*, I, 64, of the first century B.C., an oath by Osiris, Isis, Horus(?), Zeus and the other gods.

[3] Brady, *Reception*, pp. 15-16, and n. 29.

jugate pose in which the ruling Ptolemy and his queen regularly appear. Apparently, then, the royal devotion worshipped Sarapis, enthroned in the temple at Alexandria along with Isis, as the divine counterpart of the ruling Ptolemy—representing on a cosmic scale the king's royal power, and at the same time his beneficence and accessibility.

Given the chthonic attributes of Sarapis at Memphis, the references by Heraclides to the Sarapis of Canopus as Pluto, and the persistent later connection of the two gods, it seems logical to conclude that at least a theoretical identification was made in the reign of Ptolemy I, expressed in both the major images, at Alexandria and at Memphis. The Ptolemies, however, never stressed Sarapis' role as a god of the dead, nor did the practice of the faithful concentrate on his underworld aspects during the Hellenistic age.

C. Discrepancies between Sarapis and Pluto

The problem with the identification of Sarapis and Pluto is that what we might call the "personalities" of these two gods were quite different. The Greek underworld deity was never so benign as Sarapis was, and as a result Pluto was anything but congenial and popular among the Greeks. The Hades mentioned in Homer (as in *Iliad*, I, 3, and XV, 191) was a terrible god of death and destruction, and he retained this fierce aspect throughout classical times.[1] His worship was rare, and usually couched in euphemistic cult names, such as Zeus Melichius, Catachthonius, Clymenus, or (with its suggestion of wealth and fertility) Pluto.[2] Only at Elis was he worshipped under his "proper" name, Hades, and even there only with the greatest reticence and caution.[3]

[1] There may be an allusion to this in the words "species terribilior" in Tacitus, *Historiae*, IV, 83.

[2] L. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek State* (Oxford, 1896-1909), III, pp. 280-288; K. Schauenburg, *Pluton und Dionysos*, in *JDAI*, LXVIII (1953), p. 50, shows that Pluto is accompanied by a cornucopiae on vases of the sixth century B.C., though seldom in later centuries. For the Hellenistic period, the explanation is probably that Sarapis took over the cornucopiae and the functions of fertility which it implies.

[3] Pausanias, VI, 25, 2. This evidence of cult practice shows that the view of a terrible Hades was more widespread and popular than the far-fetched

It has been said that Sarapis was an unpopular deity, in Athens at least, because of his association with the underworld and because of his artificial origin.[1] Yet the evidence seems to indicate that in fact Sarapis appealed to a wide variety of devotees, and that he prominently exhibited the very qualities which Pluto conspicuously lacked. If he was a god of the underworld, he was even more a god of events on the surface of the earth and of the everyday concerns of its people. Such a benevolent nature contrasts sharply with the stereotype of a stern Pluto-Hades, and thus Sarapis was clearly more than an up-to-date name for Pluto. Part at least of the new understanding of deity which the introduction of the Sarapis cult produced was the realization that the god of the underworld was not necessarily as forbidding as had formerly been thought—and this achievement was made possible by the introduction into Pluto's godhead of elements borrowed from Osiris and Dionysus and others.

derivation of his name from εἰδέναι, with its suggestion of a beneficent god, mentioned in Plato, *Cratylus*, 403A-404B.

[1] S. Dow, *The Egyptian Cults in Athens*, in *HThR*, XXX (1937), p. 231.

CHAPTER FOUR

SARAPIS AND OSIRIS

A. Ancient Identifications of Sarapis and Osiris

It is generally agreed that the Ptolemaic theologians intended to endow Sarapis with appeal both to the Greek population and to the Egyptian natives.[1] There is no reason to deny this, although it does involve the difficulty that Hades/Pluto had traditionally never been associated with any individual Egyptian god. Herodotus left him entirely out of the Egyptian pantheon; the Egyptians, he said (II, 123), believed that Demeter and Dionysus were the rulers of the underworld. In this passage Dionysus serves as the Greek equivalent of Osiris, the god of death and fertility whose place in the Egyptian pantheon was one of undisputed prominence at the end of the Pharaonic period.[2]

The first literary connection of Sarapis and Osiris dates from the first century B.C., in an oblique reference from Athenodorus of Tarsus which states that "Osirapis" was a compound made from Osiris and Apis.[3] Later in that century Diodorus (I, 25, 2) repeated the same identification, but without reference to Apis.[4] Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 362B) considered Sarapis to be simply the Greek version of Osiris, but with a new nature and name.[5] Minucius

[1] For example, W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im Hellenistischen Aegypten*, (Leipzig and Berlin, 1905-1908), II, p. 268; *UPZ*, pp. 84-85; J. Černý *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London, 1952), p. 136; Picard, *Statues Ptolémaïques*, pp. 246-247.

[2] Herodotus, II, 48.

[3] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, IV, 48: σύνθετον ἀπό τε Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ἄπιδος γενόμενον Ὀσίραπις. Compare also Cyril of Alexandria, *Adversus Iulianum*, I, 13.

[4] τὸν δὲ Ὄσιριν οἱ μὲν Σάραπιν . . . νενομίκασι.

[5] βέλτιον δὲ τὸν Ὄσιριν εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάγειν τῷ Διονύσῳ, τῷ τ'Ὀσίριδι τὸν Σάραπιν, ὅτε τὴν φύσιν μετέβαλε, ταύτης τυχόντι τῆς προσηγορίας. διὸ πᾶσι κοινὸς ὁ Σάραπίς ἐστι, ὡς δὴ τὸν Ὄσιριν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν μεταλαβόντες ἴσασιν.

Felix (*Octavius*, 21, 12) used the names of Sarapis and Osiris interchangeably.[1]

From the late Hellenistic and early Roman period evidence from Abydus demonstrates how popular the conviction was that "Osiris" and "Sarapis" were two names for the same god. Abydus flourished from the sixth dynasty until the Saite period as a major shrine of Osiris,[2] but by Ptolemaic times the temple had fallen into disrepair, and Osiris' hold on the shrine had weakened. From the Hellenistic period, however, a large number of graffiti at several locations in the sanctuary call on Sarapis.[3] As Sayce reconstructs the history of the shrine at Abydus, the Pharaonic Osiris was replaced in Ptolemaic times by Sarapis, while in Roman times Bes with his oracle became the dominant divinity.[4] One graffito refers to an oracle of Bes in the ruins of the temple,[5] and a series of dedications of the Roman period are addressed to him.[6] Osiris' connection with Abydus was not forgotten, however: Roman writers refer to it, a few graffiti name Osiris rather than Sarapis as the object of devotion,[7] and one grave epigram alludes to the "seat of Osiris of Abydus".[8] It is not surprising that Osiris retained his connection with the dead here, for he did so elsewhere in Egypt in the Greco-Roman period, and Abydus was one of his traditional burial places.

[1] Serapidis sive Osiris tumulum.

[2] Kees, *Götterglaube*[2], pp. 329-337.

[3] *SB*, I, 1046, 1053-1059. A. Sayce, *Some Greek graffiti from Abydos*, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, X (1888), pp. 380-381, says they are Ptolemaic, though some may well date from the Roman period. *SB*, I, 3752 is also ascribed to the second century B.C. *SB*, I, 3776 (*OGIS*, II, 758) is dated to 185 B.C. by Dittenberger; Milne, in M. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos* (London, 1904), p. 37, preferred a date in the late first century B.C. Similar graffiti of the first and second centuries A.D. are *SB*, I, 170, 1046, 3731, 3742, and 3750.

[4] Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 379-380.

[6] *SB*, I, 1065, 1066, 1068, and 1069.

[7] *SB*, I, 1060 and 1061. An early Coptic document in which Osiris is addressed as speaking (in oracles) at Abydus is published by A. Erman, *Die ägyptischen Beschwörungen des grossen Pariser Zauberpapyrus*, in *ZÄS*, XXI (1883), p. 94.

[8] *SB*, V, 8314, Ἀβυδηναίου Ὀσείριδος θῶκον. The inscription probably comes from Alexandria, and is dated to the late second century A.D. by W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* (Berlin, 1955), 1090.

Yet even at Abydus and on funeral monuments the name "Sarapis" often replaced that of Osiris.[1] This suggests that Sarapis had become completely identified with Osiris, and this conclusion is made more convincing by an inscription on a foundation block at Abydus recording the dedication of a building there by Dioscorus, an official, to Sarapis Osiris the Greatest Savior.[2] Furthermore, two grave reliefs of the early Roman period are labeled in Greek with references to Sarapis, even though the reliefs, in Egyptian style, portray the mummy being presented by Anubis to a standing Isis and a seated Osiris who wears the atef crown.[3] A final example, a bilingual inscription on an offering table, uses the simple Osor (Osiris) as the hieroglyphic equivalent of the Greek "Sarapis", rather than the more usual and more phonetically faithful Osor-Hapi (Osiris-Apis).[4] These documents indicate that the essential identity of Sarapis and Osiris received wide acceptance, for some are dedicated by Greeks,[5] other by Egyptians.[6]

The identification was also expressed in documents which ascribe the same function and nature to Sarapis as to Osiris. The strong funerary orientation which they share is an example. Monuments with inscriptions reading, "May Osiris receive you", or more com-

[1] See p. 37, n. 3 above.

[2] *SEG*, XVIII, 699 (*SB*, I, 169): Σαράπιδι 'Οσείριδι Μεγίστωι Σωτῆρι. Flinders Petrie, *A foundation-deposit inscription from Abydos*, in *JHS*, XXII (1902), p. 377, refers it to the construction of Ptolemy IV. Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 5, n. 6, thinks a date in the first or second century A.D. is preferable.

[3] *SB*, I, 170, Τακῦβις 'Ηρακλήου ἀνέθηκε θεῷ μεγίστῳ Σεράπ(ιδι); and *SB*, I, 171, . . . νιαιδου Ταήτης θυγα(τὴρ) ['A]νούβι(ο)ς μητρὸς Σεντούν(ι)ος [πα]ρὰ τοῦ κυρ[ί]ου Σεράπιδος [τοῦ] ἐν 'Αβύ(του), Φαμενώθ, illustrated in *JHS*, XXI (1901), p. 279. The phrase Σεράπιδι τῷ ἐν 'Αβύτῳ, with its implication of complete identification with Osiris, also appears in *SB*, I, 729, a memorial to two boys with Greek names. Very similar scenes are found on stones bearing Demotic epitaphs: W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Inschriften* (*CGC, Die Demotischen Denkmäler*, Nos. 30601-31166, Part 1: Leipzig, 1904), 31131, 31133, 31135, 31151 all from the Roman imperial period, with references to Osiris, lord of Abydus.

[4] *SB*, V, 8455. Its date is first century B.C. or A.D., compare Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 7, n. 1.

[5] *SB*, I, 169 and 729. At Abydus, writers of graffiti which mention Sarapis come from Thrace (*SB*, I, 1057), Troizene (*SB*, I, 3776), Soli (*SB*, I, 1059), Assus (*SB*, I, 1055), Halicarnassus (*SB*, I, 1054), and Tarsus (*SB*, I, 3750).

[6] *SB*, I, 170, 171 and 731.

monly "May Osiris give you cool water",[1] attest Osiris' interest in the dead. The large number of tombs of Osiris indicates one reason why he came to be the king of the dead, and the Pharaonic monuments [2] and such Greek authors as Diodorus (I, 25, 2) and Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 354F [3]) indicate this role explicitly. In turn then Sarapis took on the same interest in the dead, illustrated by Tacitus' identification of him with the chthonic Dis, by the funerary graffiti at Abydus, by the presence of Cerberus in the images of Roman date, and by the frequent references which equate Sarapis and Pluto.[4]

The transition is easy by which a god of the dead becomes a god of vegetation. Fertility was one of the chief areas of Osiris' divine power,[5] and the calathus and cornucopia with which Sarapis appears

[1] Σὲ δέξετο Ὄσιρις, *SEG*, VIII, 502a (second century B.C.); from the Roman period, *SB*, V, 7751 (*SEG*, VIII, 612), *SB*, I, 308, *SEG*, XVIII, 679-682, and *IG*, XIV, 2098. Δοίη σοι ψυχρὸν Ὄσειρις ὕδωρ, *SB*, IV, 7288 (Ptolemaic); Roman examples are *SB*, I, 335, 1415, 3449, 3467, and 5037, *SB*, III, 6941 (*SEG*, VIII, 591), *SEG*, IX, 829, *IG*, XIV, 1488, 1705, and 1782. References to Osiris as king of the dead are very common. One explicit testimony is on a curse tablet of the third century A.D. (*IG*, XIV, 1047): ὁ μέγας Ὄσειρις ὁ [ἔχων] τὴν κατεξουσίαν καὶ τὸ βασίλειον τῶν νερτέρων θεῶν. The same role is also indicated by funerary paintings which show a mummiform Osiris, for example, *RPGR*, p. 245, 5. Compare p. 38, n. 3 above.

[2] The Egyptian texts on the death and mutilation of Osiris and the deification of his reconstituted remains are in E. A. W. Budge, *Osiris* (London and New York, 1911), I, pp. 62-99.

[3] τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον Ὄσιριν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκήπτρῳ γράφουσιν. Compare L. Castiglione, *Graeco-Aegyptiaca*, in *AAntHung*, II (1953), pp. 63-65, 72.

[4] The triumph of Osiris over death resembles the legends of Adonis and Attis, as noted by Cornutus, *De Natura Deorum*, 28; Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, 454-455; Stephanus Byzantinus, s.v. Ἀμαθοῦς; Damascius, in Heraiscus, I, 2 (Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 690). *SB*, I, 2134, an Antonine grave graffito from Alexandria, compares the deceased to both Osiris and Adonis, as well as Endymion and Heracles. At Sarsina, statues of Sarapis, Anubis, Magna Mater and Attis were found together, G. A. Mansuelli in S. Curto, *L'Egitto Antico nelle Collezioni dell' Italia Settentrionale* (Bologna, 1961), pp. 163-164. As early as the third century B.C., two statuettes of Isis Cybele are attested in the temple of Isis at Eretria (Ἀνασκαφὴ Ἰσείου ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ, in *AD*, I (1915), pp. 131-133), and two inscriptions from Serapeum C at Delos, dated after 140 B.C., are dedicated Ἴσιδι Μητρὶ θεῶν Ἀστάρτῃ (*CE*, 82; *ID*, 2101), and Ἴσιδι Σωτείραι Ἀστάρτει Ἀφροδίτηι Εὐπλοίαι ἐπ[ηκόωι] (*CE*, 194; *ID*, 2132).

[5] Kees, *Götterglaube*[2], pp. 112-115; S. Morenz, *Aegyptische Religion* (*Die Religionen der Menschheit*, No. 8: Stuttgart, 1960), p. 281. Firmicus Maternus,

in the group of Hellenistic representations which we have assigned to Memphis show that he too could bless the crops of the field.

An attitude of royalty is also common to both Osiris and Sarapis. Osiris' role as "king of the dead", attested by Plutarch, is perhaps an outgrowth of his origin as a mortal king of Egypt.[1] The story of his rule, and his murder and mutilation by Typho, as well as his eventual reconstitution by Isis and his assumption of a benevolent godhead, is the subject matter of Egyptian religion's most widely accepted cycle of myth. Greek practice, too, recognized Osiris as a king: from the Ptolemaic period, for instance, an inscription from Serapeum A at Delos, erected before 166 B.C., records a tithe to "King Osiris".[2] In the Isis hymn of Andros, dating probably from the first century B.C., Osiris is called "the widely ruling one", εὐρυμέδων.[3] Diodorus, reporting the legendary inscription on the stele of Osiris at Nysa (I, 27, 5), also calls Osiris "king". Later in the Roman period a Greek metrical inscription on a sphinx at Memphis calls Osiris "the venerable ruler of Egypt",[4] and Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 354F and 382E-383A), in addition to calling him "Osiris the lord and king", records that the great religious secret of Egyptian cult is Osiris' role as ruler and king of the dead. Kingship is in turn characteristic of Sarapis. Not only is he closely associated with the royal house of the Ptolemies in Alexandria, but the pose which he assumes in the Hellenistic cult statue at Alexan-

De Errore Profanarum Religionum, 27, 1, mentions figures of Osiris made from seeds, compare L. Castiglione, *AAntHung*, II (1953), pp. 65-68, 73.

[1] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 359D-360B, proves that in his day a Euhemeristic theory of Osiris' mortal origin was current, even though he rejects it. See Hopfner, *Plutarch*, II, pp. 101-109. Modern scholarship seems generally to favor the Euhemeristic interpretation, compare Kees, *Götterglaube*[2], p. 112. A. Gardiner, *Was Osiris an ancient king subsequently deified?* in *JEA*, XLVI (1960), p. 104, preferred to see Osiris as "a personification of dead kingship". A. Scharff, *Die Ausbreitung des Osiriskultes in der Frühzeit und während des alten Reiches*, in *SBAW*, 1947, No. 4, argued that the concept of Osiris as god of vegetation is older than that of his kingship, although the two elements may well have been combined by the middle of the Old Kingdom.

[2] *CE*, 7. See the commentary, *CE*, p. 90.

[3] W. Peek, *Der Isishymnos von Andros* (Berlin, 1930), p. 15, line 5. Compare the hymns of Cyme and Ios (*ibid.*, p. 122, line 6, and p. 123, line 5), which though later are simpler in terminology and seem to reflect in prose the same prototype as the Andros hymn. In them, Osiris is called βασιλεύς.

[4] *SB*, V, 8304.

dria and on the coin issue of Ptolemy IV is enough to show that Sarapis was thought of as a king. The terminology of the Alexander Romance (I, 30, 6, and I, 33, 2) is also eloquently regal, for Sarapis declares himself to be the one who "rules the five-fold peaks [of Alexandria] while turning round the boundless cosmos".

Frequently the royal Sarapis is accompanied by Isis. Their busts are together on the coins, they share temples in Alexandria and nearly everywhere else in the Hellenistic age, and the dedication-formula Σαράπιδι Ἴσιδι is common to Egypt, Delos, Asia Minor, Greece, and wherever the Egyptian cult was practiced. Isis' presence as the consort of Sarapis is perhaps the most convincing evidence of the essential identity of Sarapis and Osiris—Isis and Osiris are constantly together in the Pharaonic tradition, both in myth and art, just as Isis and Sarapis are constantly together in the Hellenistic monuments.

Some of the evidence which has just been cited is anterior to the first century B.C., but nothing presented so far compels us to see the identification of Osiris and Sarapis as more than a popular custom of the late Hellenistic age, reflected in serious literature by the first century B.C. As for the possibility that this identification was part of the earliest Hellenistic conception of Sarapis' nature, the evidence is not conclusive. Still, considering the sparseness of early Ptolemaic documents generally, it is highly probable that from the time that the name Sarapis was first used, he was thought of as being identical with Osiris.

Tacitus, in his account of the importation of the Sarapis statue into Alexandria (*Historiae*, IV, 83-84), makes it clear that only the statue, not the god, is new. He even emphasizes that a shrine of great antiquity stood on the site of the Hellenistic Serapeum, and cites the Egyptian priests as his authority. The statement is supported by the evidence of excavations on the site of the Serapeum on Rhacotis, which have revealed artifacts in sufficient quantity to show that some sort of Pharaonic establishment stood there since the twelfth or the eighteenth dynasty.[1] Thus, when Ptolemy I

[1] Rowe, in *BRL*, XXXIX (1956-1957), pp. 507-508. A statue and inscribed block from the twelfth dynasty were also found, the former usurped by the nineteenth-dynasty Merenptah. It may be safer to place the first real use

dedicated his statue of Sarapis, it was on the site of an old Pharaonic shrine, and it is reasonable to suggest that the god of that shrine was Osiris, since Osiris is the only Egyptian deity with whom Sarapis is regularly identified.[1] The evidence of the Alexander romance (I, 33) supports this contention, for in it when Alexander arrives at the site of Alexandria, sent by the Ammon oracle of Siwah, he finds an Egyptian shrine with a statue (a ξόανον) inside. Beside this seated statue, whose mystical nature is emphasized,[2] stood a very large statue of a girl. The secondary recension [3] (but not MS A) adds that the statue's right hand held some sort of monster (θηρίον πολύμορφον), its left, a scepter. The natives supplied the information, handed down from their forefathers, that this temple belonged to Zeus and Hera. Obelisks in the precinct bore dedicatory inscriptions of Sesostris.[4] Here Alexander ordered Parmenion to build a temple for Sarapis.[5] Questions can be and have been raised about the legitimacy of Pseudo-Callisthenes as a historical source, but what is certain in this account is that the author did not consider Sarapis to be an artificial importation or creation, but an

of the site in the eighteenth dynasty rather than the twelfth, since artifacts from it, the nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and thirtieth dynasties indicate a fairly continuous use. Yet both Athenodorus (in Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, IV, 48) and Pseudo-Callisthenes (I, 33, 6) associate the site with Sesostris, a twelfth-dynasty Pharaoh. Compare n. 4 below, and Welles, *Discovery*, pp. 296-297.

[1] W. Weber, *Drei Untersuchungen zur Aegyptisch-griechischen Religion* (Heidelberg, 1911), pp. 6-8, stressed the existence of a temple of Isis and Osiris at Rhacotis before Alexander. It may even have been a shrine of the Memphis bull-god Osiris-Apis, but only general probability and wishful thinking, rather than evidence, prompt the suggestion.

[2] I, 33, 5: ὁ θνητὴ φύσις οὐχ εὗρεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, a phrase appearing only in MS A.

[3] U. von Lauenstein, ed., *Der Griechische Alexanderroman, Rezension Γ, Buch I (Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie*, No. 4: Meisenheim am Glan, 1962), p. 114, lines 8-9.

[4] MS A preserves the translation of the "hieratic letters": Βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου Σεσόγχωσις κοσμοκράτωρ τῷ προφανεῖ τοῦ κόσμου θεῷ Σαράπι ἀνέθηκεν— W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni* (Berlin, 1926), p. 34, lines 16-17. The name of Sesostris here recalls the traditions cited in Clement and the artifacts from the Serapeum site which date back to the twelfth dynasty. These artifacts may have been moved to the site by later Pharaohs, of course. They may even have been moved there by one of the Ptolemies, though the extent of Pharaonic artifacts and the tradition of a continuous cult on the site argue against it.

[5] Pseudo-Callisthenes, I, 33, 13.

ancient native god. This interpretation is supported by Tacitus, in his quite different version of the introduction of Sarapis. What is probable is that the two statues to which Pseudo-Callisthenes refers represented Osiris and Isis, notwithstanding the *interpretatio Graeca* which calls them Zeus and Hera—among other Egyptian gods, only Ammon might be equated so casually with Zeus, and he does not have a consort. What is less certain but still probable is that the account in the Alexander Romance authentically reflects a tradition concerning the founding of Alexandria which was current in the Hellenistic period; we have already noticed a papyrus which proves that Alexander was associated with Sarapis in the first century B.C.

The Zeus and Hera of Pseudo-Callisthenes might also be interpreted as the Zeus and Hera of the underworld, viz. Pluto and Core. The statue of the god which Pseudo-Callisthenes described is accompanied by a "girl", κόρη, apparently Isis. By capitalizing the first letter of κόρη, however, the word names the goddess who reigns with Pluto in the underworld and is mentioned in connection with Sarapis by Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 361F) and Tacitus (*Historiae*, IV, 83). Such a juxtaposition, confusion or amalgamation of Osiris and Isis with Pluto and Core would not have seemed disturbingly revolutionary to the Greeks even as early as the fourth century B.C. Even though Herodotus (II, 42, 2, and 144, 2) identified Osiris with Dionysus rather than with Pluto-Hades,[1] Heraclitus had already written that Hades and Dionysus were the same.[2]

Not even the name "Sarapis" was completely new, for pre-Ptolemaic documents of the fourth century address Osiris-Apis of Memphis as "Osorapis".[3] The expanded use of the name in connection with the god of Rhacotis did not imply the discovery or invention of a new god; rather it represented a new understanding both of the Greek Pluto and of the Egyptian Osiris. The realization that they were both the same god by virtue of their kingship of the nether world was a basic part of this new understanding. Implicit

[1] Compare also Diodorus, I, 25, 2, and IV, 1, 6, and Herodianus Grammaticus, *Prosodia Catholica*, IV (p. 101, 27, Lentz).

[2] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 362A: Ἅιδης καὶ Διόνυσος ωὐτὸς ὅτεῳ μαίνονται καὶ ληναΐζουσιν.

[3] *UPZ*, 1.

in this was the suggestion that Pluto must be less forbidding than the usual Greek impression of him supposed.

From the Greek point of view, then, Sarapis was thoroughly Egyptian in nature, even though Greek in appearance. This faith in an identification of Sarapis with the Pharaonic Osiris seems so universally attested from the beginning of the Hellenistic period that it is astonishing to read in a modern work that in the second century "the natives destroyed the worship of Sarapis by identifying him with Osiris and Apis and thus destroying his Greek nature".[1] His Greek nature had never existed apart from his Egyptian identity. It is true that within Egypt Sarapis is predominantly mentioned in the third century on inscriptions and in the second on papyri, and this may mean that the identifications both with Pluto and with Osiris started as official doctrine at the court and only later became firmly enough established in popular devotion to leave documentary evidence. In any event, the combination of Greek and Egyptian identities is an integral part of Sarapis' divinity from the beginning, in the reign of Ptolemy I at the latest.

B. The Continuing Distinction between Sarapis and Osiris

Sarapis did not simply replace Osiris. The two names were used in reference to the same god, but in distinctive contexts. Thus within Egypt, Hellenistic and Greco-Roman documents regularly name the divine couple of Isis and Osiris;[2] the exceptional cases which use the term "Isis and Sarapis" are connected either with the royal family[3] or with dedicants bearing Greek

[1] Brady, *Reception*, p. 29.

[2] For example, *SB*, V, 7652 (mid-third century B.C.); *PSI*, I, 64 (first century B.C.); *SPP*, XX, 12 (second century A.D.).

[3] Ptolemy I—*SB*, V, 8849 (*OGIS*, I, 21; Alexandria; the date is disputed, compare Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 11, n. 7). Ptolemy II—*SEG* XVIII, 636 (Alexandria); *PSI*, V, 539 (Philadelphia). Ptolemy III—*SB*, V, 8772 (*OGIS*, I, 64; Memphis); *SB*, I, 585 and 586 (Canopus); *SB*, V, 8860 (*OGIS*, I, 62; Philae). Ptolemy IV—*SB*, I, 2136 (*SEG*, XVIII, 637); *SB*, V, 8866 (*OGIS*, I, 82; Edfu); *SB*, V, 8869 (*OGIS*, I, 87; Philae); O. Rubensohn, in *APF*, V (1913), p. 159, 3 (provenience unknown); *SB*, V, 8769 (*OGIS*, I 89; Thebes); *SB*, I, 597; *SB*, VI, 9300 (Alexandria). Ptolemy VIII—*SB*, I, 631 a-d (Giza).

names.[1] Outside Egypt, dedications to Osiris and Isis are remarkably rare, including only a Hellenistic inscription from Delos [2] and one from perhaps Smyrna.[3]

But beyond this there seems to be a clear distinction which can be drawn between the contexts in which Osiris and Sarapis regularly appear. Osiris generally occurs in the context of myth and ritual; Sarapis, in that of petition and intercessory prayer. Thus the mythographers tell the story of Osiris, not Sarapis. It is Osiris who was the husband of Isis and father of Horus.[4] It is Osiris whose death was mourned and whose body was found in the ceremonies of cult practice.[5] On the other hand, it is Sarapis who was invoked (in Egypt, at least) when the royal family is concerned; in the rest of the Hellenistic world he appears as the recipient of votive offerings or the object of prayer for help or blessing. Osiris had been invoked in the Pharaonic age, and continued to be invoked in the Hellenistic period, as a savior from the terrors of the afterlife; as Sarapis he retained this role, but with wider application and more general appeal.

Ptolemy IX—M. Strack, in *APF*, II (1903), pp. 552-553, 34. The oaths mentioned, p. 33, n. 2, above, are also relevant, as are the documents of *UPZ*, 15, 20, 33-36, and 42. Other appearances of Sarapis with Isis in Egypt have been omitted here because of their Roman date.

[1] A. Wace, *Greek inscriptions from the Serapeum*, in *Farouk I University* (Alexandria), *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, II (1944), p. 21, 2, dedicated at Alexandria early in the Hellenistic period by a certain Aristodemus; *SB*, I, 4076, at Philae, probably second century B.C., where enough survives to show that the dedicator had a Greek name (-ληνο[ς.....]οιρίωνος); *SEG*, XVIII, 657 (*SB*, I, 2596), at Heracleopolis in the third century, by Aristophanes; and *UPZ*, 45 and 78, papyri of 161 and 159 B.C., in which Ptolemaeus prays to Sarapis and Isis. The Barthybas who made a dedication to Sarapis, Isis, and Heracles at Canopus in the second century B.C. (*SB*, V, 8124; *SEG*, VIII, 456) seems to be Semitic, compare Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 9, n. 6.

[2] *CE*, 33, Ὀσίριδι Ἴσιδι κατὰ πρόσταγμα.

[3] *CIG*, IV, 6841; according to M. N. Tod, *Epigraphical notes from the Ashmolean Museum*, in *JHS*, LXXI (1951), pp. 175-176, it also comes from Delos. A set of statue bases from Faesulae is inscribed DOMINO OSIRI and DOM[IN]AE ISIDI TAPOSIRI, *CIL*, XI, 1543 and 1544.

[4] Herodotus, II, 42, 2; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 361 D, and the Isis hymns (compare p. 40, n. 3 above), as well as the Rosetta Stone, *OGIS*, I, 90, lines 10 and 26.

[5] On the ceremony of the 26th of Choiak, see Hopfner, *Plutarch*, I, pp. 65-71; R. Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in Griechisch-römischer Zeit* (*Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie*, No. 5: Meisenheim am Glan, 1963), pp. 36-37; and *PHibeh*, I, 27, line 60: Ὀσῖρις περιπλεῖ καὶ χρυσοῦν πλοῖον ἐξάγεται.

In the "mysteries" of the cult a similar situation prevails. No conclusive case can be made for the existence of mysteries of Sarapis, but there is considerable evidence that initiations were celebrated in honor of Osiris, as the mythical divine king who had risen from the dead and still reigned as king over the dead.[1] The best-known initiation into the mysteries of the great god Osiris is that of Lucius in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (XI, 26, 28), where allusion is made to Dionysiac paraphernalia, ritual meals, abstinence from animal food, and nocturnal initiation rites.[2] The same connection of Osiris and initiation may be attested for the Hellenistic period

[1] On the mysteries of Osiris, compare Hopfner, *Fontes*, index, pp. 886-887. As for mysteries of Sarapis, the available evidence of their existence is not conclusive. F. Legge, *The Greek worship of Serapis and Isis*, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXXVI (1914), pp. 79-99, and O. Gressmann, *Die Orientalischen Religionen im Hellenistisch-Römischen Zeitalter* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930), pp. 44-45, argued that they did exist in the Hellenistic period, but more recent scholars have been less convinced: A. D. Nock, *Conversion* (London and New York, 1933), pp. 56-57, and Fraser, *Two Studies*, p. 4, n. 1. H. Youtie, *The* kline *of Sarapis*, in *HThR*, XLI (1948), p. 12, argued for their existence, citing (n. 15) the inscription from Prusa ad Olympium in Bithynia (*SIRIS*, 326), which includes the sentence, Σαράπιδι καὶ Εἴσιδι εὐχαριστήριον οἱ περὶ Λεωνίδην Ἑρμησιλάου ἱερέα μύσται καὶ δεκαδισταί. The inscription is late, however, and the fact of a dedication to Sarapis (to whom dedications were more frequently made than to Osiris) does not exclude the very real possibility that the mystae had been initiated into rites of Osiris or Isis. The same is true of *SIRIS*, 295, from Tralles in the Roman period: Ἰούλιον Ἀμυντιανὸν ἱερέα Εἴσιδος καὶ Σαράπιδος· οἱ μύσται τὸν Πανέλληνα; Julius' office is to be priest of Sarapis, but the mystae are not necessarily initiated into Sarapis mysteries. Brady, *Reception*, pp. 28-29, assumed that Sarapis became a mystery god in the second century B.C., because of the documented intimacy of the κάτοχος and the god; the vocabulary of the Memphis papyri in *UPZ*, however, give no indication of a mystery cult there. Hopfner, *Plutarch*, II, pp. 132-133, took Dio Chrysostom, XXXII, 12-13, as evidence for Sarapis as "Toten- und Mysteriengott" in Alexandria, but both context and the direct statement of Dio indicate a public, not a mystery, cult. Epiphanius (*Expos. Fid.*, 12) listed τὰ τεμένη καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε μυστήρια of Egypt, but did not mention Alexandria, where Sarapis-mysteries would be expected, though his list does include Sais and Abydus, where Osiris had a mystery cult. (For Sais, compare Herodotus, II, 170; for Abydus, pp. 37-38 above, and Budge, *Osiris*, II, pp. 1-20). There were of course mysteries of Isis, as Apuleius alone would demonstrate, and Nock, *Conversion*, pp. 38-41, contended that her mysteries were revived early in the Hellenistic period.

[2] W. Wittmann, *Das Isisbuch des Apuleius* (Stuttgart, 1938), nn. 637, 638, 643 and 650.

by a relief from Thessalonica dedicated in the third century B.C. to Osiris "the initiate".[1]

This distinction between Osiris and Sarapis seems to be implied in a wide variety of evidence from the whole range of the Greco-Roman world, and is basic to an understanding of the nature of Sarapis. When Osiris is called "King" on a dedication at Delos before 166 B.C.[2] and when a sacrifice is recorded at Athens in the first century A.D. to the unusual but compatible pair of Nephthys and Osiris,[3] there is surely an allusion to Osiris' mythological personality. Similarly, the first of the intercalary days of the Egyptian calendar is the birthday of Osiris,[4] and when Plutarch writes about the mythology and ritual of the Egyptians he writes primarily about Isis and Osiris, and only very incidentally about Sarapis.[5]

The name Sarapis, on the other hand, had no mythological connections. To Sarapis devotees addressed petitions and intercessions, and made dedications. Sarapis regularly appeared in dreams and performed healing miracles, and thus appears as the particular aspect of the Osiris-Sarapis godhead who was concerned with the day to day material needs of his devotees. The immediacy of his presence is expressed in the healing of Demetrius of Phalerum's blindness and the dream appearances which are so frequently recorded, as well as by such epithets applied to him as "Father" [6]

[1] C. Edson, *Cults of Thessalonica*, in *HThR*, XLI (1948), p. 182, Ὀσείριδι μύστει.

[2] *CE*, 7. Dedications to Osiris at Delos are rare, but in addition there are *CE*, 33 and 104, and possibly *CIG*, IV, 6841, compare p. 45, n. 3 above. *CE*, 50 is dedicated to Zeus and the Great Mother κατὰ πρόσταγμα Ὀσείριδος, but otherwise there is no indication why Osiris rather than Sarapis is named. Apparently there was no separate Osireum at Delos; perhaps these four dedications were erected in connection with specific festivals of Osiris which were not recorded on the stones. (The Delian inscriptions in fact regularly omit the occasion of the dedication, except for those put up at the end of a priesthood).

[3] *IG*, II², 1367. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 356F, records a tradition in which Anubis is Osiris' son by Nephthys. On Nephthys as Isis' companion in the mourning of Osiris, see Hopfner, *Plutarch*, I, pp. 59-68. A roughly contemporary inscription from Athens "To Osiris the god" is *IG*, II², 4873.

[4] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 355E.

[5] Vidman, *Isis*, pp. 13-15.

[6] *SB*, I, 1046 and 3731, Roman graffiti from Abydus.

and "Savior".[1] The blessings for which people prayed to Sarapis were both patriotic and personal. At Memphis in the second century B.C., Ptolemaeus and the twins prayed that Sarapis and Isis would grant the king and queen rule over all the earth,[2] or that they would aid Sarapion and give him favor with the king and queen.[3] A century earlier Zoilus had prayed that Apollonius would receive physical health and the favor of the king through Sarapis' interest in him.[4] On a more intimate level another Apollonius (at Memphis in the second century B.C.) wrote to his brother about the intercessions for health that he addressed to Sarapis and Isis.[5] In a dream Ptolemaeus prayed to Sarapis and Isis to protect the twins for whom he served as guardian.[6] Other dedications on behalf of children are preserved from Soli in Cyprus, Kozani in Macedonia, and Delos.[7] Votive offerings frequently refer to blessings obtained from Sarapis, and indicate that the god did actually respond to the invocations of the faithful by appearing in dreams

[1] Artemidorus, *Onirocritica*, II, 39; Aelius Aristides, XLV, 25 (ed. Keil); E. Heitsch, *Die Griechischen Dichterfragmente der Römischen Kaiserzeit* (*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, 3. Folge, No. 49, 1961), 50, also in D. Page, *Literary Papyri, Poetry*, 96; *SB, I*, 169 (*SEG*, XVIII, 699); *SB*, V, 8513 (*CIG*, III, 5041); *IG*, XII, 1, 932. These are from the Roman period. The following are Hellenistic: *CE*, 49, Ἀνούβι Ἡγεμόνι, Σαράπι Σωτῆρι, Ἴσι Σωτείραι; *CE*, 190, Διὶ Σωτῆρι, Σαράπιδι, Ἴσιδι, Ἀνούβιδι; *CE*, 72, dedicated to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis and Apollo by Protus of Cos, σωθεὶς ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων—all these are from Delos. From Hellenistic Egypt are: *SB*, I, 596, 597, 2136 (*SEG*, XVIII, 637), 4076, and 5863, and *SB*, V, 8869 (*OGIS*, I 87). Dedications by individuals who had been "saved" are *SB*, I, 1054-1056 (Abydus); *CIG*, II, 2716 (Stratonicaea); and *IG*, XII, 2, 114 (Mytilene).

[2] *UPZ*, 20. A contemporary dedication from Gortyn (*SIRIS*, 165) names Isis (and possibly Sarapis) as bringer of peace, compare Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 31, n. 4.

[3] *UPZ*, 33-36 and 45.

[4] *PCairoZenon*, I, 59034. Compare Fraser, *Two studies*, pp. 41-42.

[5] *SB*, V, 7618. This is the first appearance of a formula frequently found in letters sent home by visitors to Alexandria, πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὔχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν μετὰ τῶν σῶν πάντων, or something similar. Compare A. Calderini, *Un nuovo papiro del Serapeo di Memfi*, in *Aegyptus*, XIII (1933), p. 689, and *BGU*, I, 332 and 333; III, 714, 843, 845, and 846.

[6] *UPZ*, 78. The prayer is chiefly directed to Isis.

[7] Soli: *SIRIS*, 354 (third century B.C.). Kozani: *SIRIS*, 106 (third or second century B.C.). Delos: *CE*, 190 (late second century B.C.).

and granting oracles and cures.[1] The awareness of this availability, this readiness to be present and to help, is also expressed in the epithet ἐπήκοος [2]; in the use of his sanctuary at Memphis as a place of asylum for escaped criminals and others in distress [3]; in the manumission of slaves in his care in Boeotia and Locris [4]; in the pious habit of inviting Sarapis as a companion at dinner [5]; and in

[1] The terms χαριστήριον and εὐχήν appear frequently in these votive dedications, but the following formulas also appear in the Hellenistic dedications to Sarapis, and indicate some clear bond between god and dedicator: εὐξάμ[ενός τε καὶ] τυχών, *CE*, 109 (Delos, late second century B.C.) and εὐξάμενοι καὶ εὖ τυχόντες, *IG*, XIV, 916 (Ostia, imperial date). Direct appearances in visions are indicated by καθ' ὅραμα on two Delian inscriptions, *CE*, 66 and 210 (second century B.C.) and by the importance of the ὀνειροκρίτης in the cult at Hellenistic Delos (*CE*, 64, 84, 119, 120, 123, 169, 175C and 201) and Athens (*SIRIS*, 5, dated 116-94 B.C.; compare *IG*, II², 4771, about A.D. 120). Compare also the reference in a late Hellenistic inscription from Tomi dedicated κατ' ὄναρ (*SIRIS*, 706) and the reference to dreams in connection with Sarapis at Apollonospolis Magna in the reign of Commodus (*SB*, V, 8828). Two of these (*CE*, 169 and 201) indicate clearly that the request for a dedication came directly from the god in a dream, and thus the phrase κατὰ πρόσταγμα provides further evidence of the close rapport between Sarapis and his devotees in many of the Delos inscriptions (*CE*, 4, 6, 29, 30, 31, 45, 45bis, 47, 49, 53, 54, 55, 59, 60, 69, 75, 90, 100, 169, 188, 190, 213, and *ID*, 2113). A number of other dedications at Delos repeat the words κατὰ πρόσταγμα or κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ but are addressed to other gods (*CE*, 11, 16, 33, 44, 45, 50, 51, 58, 81, 82, 121, 122, 151 and 181). However, the dedication of an altar (*CE*, 100) to Σαράπιδι ἐπιφα[νεῖ] and the narrative content of the dedicatory stela of Serapeum A (*CE*, 1) make clear that Sarapis did appear in dreams at his Delos shrines and justify the assumption that "the command of the god" refers, in the context of these shrines, to Sarapis. Other Hellenistic dedications to Sarapis κατὰ πρόσταγμα or κατ' ἐπιταγήν are *SB*, VI, 9300 (Alexandria, third century B.C.); *IG*, XII, 1, 957 (Chalce, third century B.C.); *SEG*, XV, 706 and 707 (Ephesus, third century B.C.); *SIRIS*, 354 and 355 (Soli, third century B.C.); *IG*, XII, 5, 969 (Tenos, second century B.C.); *SIRIS*, 247 (Cos, second century B.C.); *SIRIS*, 104 (Demetrias, about the second century B.C.); *SIRIS*, 5 (Athens, about 100 B.C.); and *SIRIS*, 111a-b (Thessalonica, first century B.C.).

[2] *CE*, 192 (shortly after 140 B.C.).

[3] *UPZ*, 43 (164 B.C.), 64 (156 B.C.), and 72 (152 B.C.).

[4] Orchomenus: *IG*, VII, 3198-3204. Chaeronea: *IG*, VII, 3301-3399. Naupactus: *SEG*, XII, 295 and 296. All are from the second century B.C. The manumission formula names both Sarapis and Isis at Orchomenus, Sarapis alone at Chaeronea and Naupactus. A contemporary document from Doris, naming Sarapis alone, has been published by J-P. Michaud, in *BCH*, XCIII (1969), pp. 82-85.

[5] Aristides, XLV, 27-28 (ed. Keil), a passage which specifically asserts the intimacy of Sarapis and his devotees. Compare A. D. Nock, *The cult of heroes*, in *HThR*, XXXVII (1944), pp. 150-157.

the intimate relation between the κάτοχος and his god.[1] The dates and sources of these testimonia are instructive, for they show that this view of Sarapis was current as early as the reign of Ptolemy I, when Demetrius of Phalerum was in favor, and that it persisted throughout the Hellenistic period, both in connection with the Ptolemaic court and in the practice of private individuals.

There are, inevitably, exceptions to this general rule. Dedications are occasionally made to Osiris in the Greco-Roman world, but this did not happen very frequently, and the choice of the name "Osiris" rather than "Sarapis" can usually be explained. Thus for instance Seleucus I (if he is really the donor) dedicated a phiale at Didyma to the ancient Egyptian Osiris,[2] not to the newly publicized aspect of the god sponsored by the Ptolemies under the name Sarapis. A dedication sheet of Ptolemy III is addressed to Osiris,[3] probably because the temenos at Canopus was traditionally dedicated to the ancient god of the Pharaonic mythology. A stele from Eretria erected in the first century B.C. presents its difficulties too, for on it Sarapis and Osiris are named as two distinct beings, separated on the list by Isis.[4] The only parallel for separating Sarapis and Osiris in this explicit way is an altar dedicated in the reign of Ptolemy V at Taposiris Parva on which Osiris and Sarapis are separated by an unambiguous "and",[5] a difficulty which Fraser satisfactorily explains as an allusion to the remains of Osiris buried at Taposiris,[6] whose proximity might well prompt special separate mention in the dedication. Perhaps in the case of the Eretria stele,

[1] *UPZ*, pp. 55-62. An intimate, loving relationship with Sarapis can probably be postulated on analogy with Lucius' remarks about Isis in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 22-26, though such expressions do not appear in any of the documents of the κάτοχος Ptolemaeus, and in *UPZ*, 78, 2, it is Knephis, not Sarapis, who appears in his dream to declare that his period of κατοχή is at an end.

[2] *SIRIS*, 289. For previous readings of other divinities in place of Osiris, see Dittenberger's note, *OGIS*, I, 214. Nilsson, *GGR*², II, p. 127, n. 15, though he does not reject the reading 'Οσ[ίρ]ιδος, found the appearance of an Egyptian god in a Seleucid dedication list "fast verblüffend".

[3] *SB*, V, 8296 (*OGIS*, I, 60).

[4] *IG*, XII, Suppl., 565.

[5] *SB*, V, 8873 (*OGIS*, I, 97), 'Οσόρῳ τε καὶ Σαράπιδι καὶ Ἴσιδι καὶ Ἀνούβιδι θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις.

[6] *Two studies*, p. 6, n. 6.

the dedicator wished to make very clear that he was honoring the Sarapis-aspect and the Osiris-aspect with equal emphasis, or he may have had in mind two separate images within the Eretria temple complex, one of Sarapis in the Greek style, and another of Osiris in Pharaonic style. That such separate statues existed is indicated by an inscription of the Roman period at Pergamum, in which distinct images of Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, Harpocrates, Osiris, Apis, Helius, Ares and the Dioscuri are mentioned.[1] At the end of the first century A.D. Sarapis and Osiris are also enumerated separately at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, and here the reference may be to separate shrines rather than simply separate statues.[2] According to Pausanias (II, 4, 6) the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods at Corinth had two precincts of Sarapis, one with the title "In Canopus".

Further exceptions to the usual practice are documents in which "Osiris" performs functions usually associated with the name "Sarapis", for instance the presence of "Osiris" rather than "Osiris-Apis" in the royal oaths on Semitic papyri from the reign of Ptolemy II.[3] The dream appearances of Sarapis are paralleled in a Hellenistic dedication from Delos made "in accordance with the command of Osiris" [4]; later Osiris appears in a dream in Apuleius (*Metamorphoses* XI, 29), where Sarapis plays no significant role at all. A dedication from Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy IV was made to Osiris "in accordance with a command".[5] Horace (*Epistulae*, I, 17, 58-62)

[1] *SIRIS*, 313, discussed by R. Salditt-Trappmann, *Tempel der Ägyptischen Götter in Griechenland und an der Westküste Kleinasiens* (*Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain*, No. 15: Leiden, 1970), pp. 22-23.

[2] *POxy*, II, 241, ἀρχειπαστωφώρου Θοήριδος καὶ Ἥσιδος καὶ Σ[α]ράπιδος καὶ Ὠσί[ριος] καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων. Two parallels are Salisbury Cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which also has a separate Lady Chapel; and Norwich Cathedral, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, which has a Jesus Chapel.

[3] *PEleph*, 5 and 11.

[4] *CE*, 50. Compare p. 47, n. 2 above.

[5] *SEG*, XX, 698. In *Two studies*, p. 42, n. 1, Fraser cites as a parallel *OGIS*, I, 187, of 60 B.C., where Petesouchos appears in a dream. This is fairly late, and may be inspired by the dream appearances with which Sarapis had favored his devotees for two hundred years. Compare Fraser's comment in *Inscriptions from Ptolemaic Egypt*, in *Berytus*, XIII (1960), p. 145, "Greek dedications to Osiris are not common in Ptolemaic Egypt, no doubt because his cult and his personality were largely absorbed in those of Sarapis. The dedication of a temple to Osiris at Canopus by Euergetes (*OGIS*, I, 60), however, may have led to a passing popularity in the later third century".

wrote of swearing by Osiris, a practice documented in an oath taken by Osiris and Isis and assigned to the first century B.C.[1] On an inscription from Xois of the second century A.D. Osiris seems to have performed a healing miracle[2]; and in general, the qualities ascribed to Osiris by Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, XI, 30) closely parallel those of Sarapis listed by Aelius Aristides (XLV, 18). Such exceptions are a useful reminder of the latitude in practice to be found in ancient cults, and many of them are probably due to the fact that especially in the Roman imperial period Osiris seemed more "Egyptian" than the Hellenized Sarapis.

A general conclusion seems clear: Sarapis and Osiris were considered to be the same god, but a functional distinction was made in the use of the two names. He was called "Osiris" in mythological, liturgical, and funerary frames of reference; therefore this name almost exclusively appears in connection with the realm of the dead.[3] He was called "Sarapis", however, when he appeared in dreams and received and granted prayers on behalf of the living.[4] A modern parallel from the Christian tradition is the tendency to refer to the god of the Old Testament, who led Israel out of Egypt and appeared to Abraham and Elijah, as "Jehovah", while the term "God" is applied to him in his relation to modern man.

[1] *PSI*, I, 64. A more customary oath in Hellenistic times was by the king and queen and Sarapis, Isis, and the σύνναοι θεοί, compare *UPZ*, 70.

[2] *SB*, V, 8026 (*SEG*, VIII, 464).

[3] In reviewing Frazer's *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, A. Gardiner, in *JEA*, II (1915), pp. 121, 124, noted that in the Pharaonic pyramid texts "it is always as a *dead* king that Osiris appears, the role of the living king being invariably played by Horus, his son and heir.... Yet it seems likely that the accession of Horus was equivalent to a renewal of the reign of Osiris himself, since ... every Horus-king was a potential Osiris".

[4] The Isis hymn from Ios corroborates this view, at least in one restoration. The text of the hymn (*IG*, XII, 5, 14; W. Peek, *Der Isishymnus von Andros*, pp. 121-125) twice refers to Osiris in his mythological role as king and as brother and husband of Isis. On the other hand, if Hiller von Gaertringen's highly probable restoration is correct, the first line dedicates the hymn, not to Isis and Osiris, but [Εἴ]σι[δι Σεράπ]ι[δ]ι ['Α]νούβιδι κ' 'Α[ρποκρά]τῃ. An obvious alternative restoration is ['Οσίρ]ι[δ]ι, proposed by R. Harder, *Karpokrates von Chalkis und die Memphitische Isispropaganda*, in *APAW*, 1943, No. 14, p. 20, accepted by Nock, in *Gnomon*, XXI (1949), p. 222, n. 2.

CHAPTER FIVE

SARAPIS AND DIONYSUS

A. Ancient Identifications of Osiris and Dionysus

Sarapis was thought of as both identical with Pluto and identical with Osiris, although in the pre-Hellenistic tradition, Pluto and Osiris were not identified with each other. It was Dionysus whom the Greeks equated with Osiris, as Herodotus makes clear.[1] The identification of Dionysus and Osiris was based on the similarity of their myths, cult practice, and (as a function of these) divine personality. It is noteworthy that the identification is with the Pharaonic Osiris, not with the Hellenistic Sarapis, even in later authors, some of whom take pains to point this out explicitly even though in the same sentence they identify Sarapis with Osiris.[2] Because of common elements between the Egyptian myth of the death, dismemberment and deification of Osiris and the myth of Dionysus' murder at the hands of the Titans, it was natural for Dionysus to recall the mythological Osiris, not the 'activist' Sarapis.

[1] II, 42, 2: . . . Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσιν; II, 144, 2: Ὄσιρις δέ ἐστι Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν. Compare Diodorus, I, 25, 2, and IV, 1, 6: Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεὸν Ὄσιριν ὀνομαζόμενόν φασιν εἶναι τὸν παρ' Ἕλλησι Διόνυσον καλούμενον, and Herodianus Grammaticus, *Prosodia Catholica*, IV (p. 101, 17, Lentz): Ὄσιρις Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Διόνυσος. The ancient sources are collected in Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, II, p. 126, n. 3; Hopfner, *Fontes*, index, *Dionysus*; Hopfner, *Plutarch*, II, pp. 161-162.

[2] Diodorus, I, 25, 2, and Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 362B: βέλτιον δὲ τὸν Ὄσιριν εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάγειν τῷ Διονύσῳ, τῷ τ' Ὀσίριδι τὸν Σάραπιν, ὅτε τὴν φύσιν μετέβαλε, ταύτης τυχόντι τῆς προσηγορίας. L. Le Corsu, *Un oratoire pompéien consacré à Dionysos-Osiris*, in *RA*, N.S., 1967, pp. 239-254, neatly juxtaposed these passages and the presence at Memphis both of Sarapis and of Dionysiac *putti* to conclude, "Sérapis et Dionysos auraient ainsi concretisé les deux aspects d'Osiris, dieu des morts d'une part, et dieu de la renaissance de l'autre". Understanding Sarapis and Dionysus as two manifestations which correspond to complementary attributes of Osiris produces a satisfying symmetry; however, it does not totally account for the fact that Sarapis was more than a god of the dead, and was felt to be concerned in the earthly lives of his devotees.

Since Dionysus and Osiris were both gods who had died and been revived, they were interested in the dead. An inscription carved in the reign of Ptolemy VI includes a dedication to "Dionysus, also called Pentempamenti" [1]; the Egyptian name Pentempamenti ("Pertaining to or Dwelling in Amenti", i.e. the West, the place of the Dead) refers to the title *Ḫnty-'Imntyw* ("Lord of the Westerners") applied to Osiris in the Pharaonic monuments. Originally it was the myth of premature death and subsequent resurrection that associated Osiris and Dionysus, but other similarities in legends and cult practice encouraged further parallels to be developed. There is, for example, their common role as god of fertility,[2] more specifically the association of each with viticulture.[3] The two gods also seem to share an interest in song and in celebration of the life of pleasure.[4]

Common ceremonial practices reflect their common functions as gods of fertility. Phallic processions played a role in the ceremonial of both gods, as Plutarch pointed out in a passage (*De Iside et Osiride*, 364E-365F) which cites a long series of ritual similarities to prove that Osiris and Dionysus are the same.[5] In Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, XI, 27), Lucius has a dream in which a linen-clad priest of Osiris appears carrying such Dionysiac paraphernalia as thyrsi, ivy and certain secret symbols including probably a phallus. One of the parts of the initiation ritual to Osiris mentioned in the dream is a ritual meal, a feature which recalls the meals that played so

[1] *OGIS*, I, 111: Διονύσωι τῶι καὶ Πετ[ε]μπαμ[έ]ντει. Compare also *OGIS*, I, 130: Πετεμπαμέντει τῷ καὶ Διονύσῳ, from the reign of Ptolemy VIII.

[2] G. Hornblower, *The establishing of Osiris*, in *Man*, XLV (1945), pp. 59-63, and *Osiris and Dionysos*, in *Man*, XLVII (1947), p. 17; L. Alfonsi, *A proposito della digressione tibulliana su Osiride*, in *Aevum*, XLII (1968), pp. 475-476.

[3] For references and comment on the appropriate passages in the pyramid texts, see P. Grimal, *Le dieu Sérapis et le genius de Messala*, in *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie*, 1969, pp. 42-51, and Hopfner, *Plutarch*, II, pp. 6 and 66-67.

[4] Tibullus, I, 7, 27-34; Grimal, *op. cit.*; M. Stracmans, *Osiris- Dionysos dans les chants des harpistes égyptiens*, in *Le Muséon*, 1946, pp. 207-214.

[5] For ivy (*De Iside et Osiride*, 365E) as a common attribute of Osiris and Dionysus (as well as of Attis, Ammon, and the Ptolemaic dynasty), compare J. Tondriau, *Tatouage, lierre et syncrétismes*, in *Aegyptus*, XXX (1950), pp. 62-63.

important a role in the Dionysiac mysteries.[1] Even the ecstatic element of the Dionysiac worship can be paralleled in Egyptian use, for the frantic excesses connected with the mourning and finding of Osiris were condemned by Roman and Christian writers with as much righteous indignation as was the Dionysiac state of divine possession.[2]

The iconography of Osiris and Dionysus occasionally suggests a common cult of the two gods, especially in the late Hellenistic and early Roman period. The wall paintings in a chapel at Pompeii are dominated by motifs from Greco-Egyptian cult (hydrieum, Apis bulls, tables of offerings, Osiris and Isis depicted in Pharaonic style) and from the Dionysiac mysteries (vines, tragic masks, Dionysus, Ariadne and Bacchants),[3] and the Isis temple at Pompeii included a niche with a representation of Dionysus on a panther.[4] Isiac and Dionysiac themes also appear together at the Villa of the Mysteries and the house of Loreius Tibertinus.[5] From the Ptolemaic period, a group of three statuettes has been interpreted as Osiris with such Dionysiac attributes as horns, vines and cornucopiae.[6]

B. Sarapis and Dionysus

Because of his connection with death, Dionysus is more closely associated with Sarapis at Memphis, where Sarapis shows stronger chthonic traits, than at Alexandria, where solemn, kingly attributes

[1] M. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund, 1957), pp. 135-136.

[2] Juvenal, VIII, 26-30; Seneca, in Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, VI, 10, 2; Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*, 2. Compare Herodotus, II, 61.

[3] F. Le Corsu, *op. cit.* (p. 53, n. 2 above).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 250-252.

[6] A. Baillet, *Osiris-Bacchus*, in *ZÄS*, XVI (1878), pp. 106-108. He cites, p. 107, n. 2, the phrase "Osiris is the *ʿrw*", from A. Mariette, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée du Boulaq* (Cairo, 1871), I, p. 16, line 12, and he attempts to identify *ʿrw* as the vine. The identification was not accepted by A. Gardiner, who in *The Wilbour Papyrus* (London, 1941-1952), II, p. 31, translates it simply as "a plant". In any event, the papyrus cited by Baillet is late, perhaps as late as the Ptolemaic period. For better evidence of a Pharaonic association of Osiris and the vine, see p. 54, n. 3 above.

predominate in the representations of Sarapis. This is the implication of a large number of monuments discovered in the Memphis Serapeum, the Dionysiac character of which has been demonstrated by Ch. Picard.[1]

Evidence from wide-spread areas of the Greek world attests the affinities between the cult of Dionysus and that of Sarapis and the Egyptian gods. A number of inscriptions show that devotees of one cult would easily participate in the other.[2] The dream of Ptolemy reported by Tacitus (*Historiae*, IV, 83, 1) may reflect Dionysiac influence in the youthful appearance of the god and the fire in which he disappears,[3] as does the dream of Lucius in Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, XI, 27). Although Apuleius alludes directly to the Osiris-aspect of the mystery god, such ritual meals also formed an important part in the worship of Sarapis, as in papyri which mention κλῖναι of the god [4] and an inscription from Thessalonica,[5] as well as in the cult meals mentioned by Aelius Aristides (XLV, 27) and

[1] Picard, *Statues Ptolémaïques*, especially pp. 30-47, 246-258; Picard, *Manuel*, IV, 2, pp. 871-878. Picard argues that the god of the Memphis Serapeum was a combination of the Egyptian Osiris-Apis with the Macedonian Dionysus. He is not explicit about the extent to which the two gods were identified, although generally he argues only for a close association of the two, rather than complete identity.

[2] Delos: *CE*, 141, just after 109 B.C., a statue of Hedea, canephore of Dionysus, set up in Serapeum C. Lindus: *IG*, XII, 1, 835, a Hellenistic statue base of a priest who served Sarapis, Poseidon Hippius, and Dionysus. Thespiae: *IG*, VII, 1869, of early Roman date, a statue base of a priestess of Isis, erected for the festival of Dionysus. Florence: *IG*, XIV, 1366, a grave epigram from the second or third century A.D. of Alexandria, priestess both of Dionysus and of Isis.

[3] Picard, *Statues Ptolémaïques*, pp. 31-32.

[4] *POxy*, I, 110; III, 523; XII, 1484; XIV, 1755; *POslo*, III, 157; *PMich*, VIII, 511; *SB*, X, 10496; L. Koenen, *Eine Einladung zur Kline des Sarapis*, in *ZPE*, I (1967), pp. 121-126. *SB*, V, 8828 includes the words τὸ συμπόσιον . . . τοῦ κυρίου Σεράπιδος, and Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, XVIII, 4, 73-74, writes of a meal and prayer in connection with the Egyptian cults. Compare also E. Seckel and W. Schubart, *Der Gnomon des Idios Logos*, *BGU*, V, 88; A. Salač, *Der Serapiskult in Köln am Rhein*, in *BPhW*, XXXIV (1914), pp. 253-255; W. Weber, *Sarapis cum sua cline*, in *BPhW*, XXXIV (1914), p. 480; J. Milne, *The kline of Sarapis*, in *JEA*, XI (1925), pp. 6-9; H. Youtie, *The* kline *of Sarapis*, in *HThR*, XLI (1948), pp. 9-29, especially pp. 13-15; and L. Castiglione, *Zur Frage der Sarapis-Kline*, in *AAntHung*, IX (1961), pp. 287-303.

[5] *SIRIS*, 109.

Tertullian (*Apologeticus*, 39). These examples are Roman in date, but a Delian inscription of 196 B.C.[1] records the dedication of "the couches" to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis and the other gods; furthermore the Delian aretalogy mentions furniture for the ritual feasts,[2] and rooms in the excavated Hellenistic Serapea were probably intended for cult banquets held by such groups as the "decadistae" at Delos [3] and the "Sarapiastae" of Thasos.[4] Possibly the pillows mentioned in a papyrus letter from the Ptolemaic period were also intended for such meals.[5] A demotic papyrus of the second century B.C. attests cult organizations in Egypt for common meals in honor of gods, among whom Sarapis is mentioned,[6] and inscriptions from Philippi and Asia Minor attest "tables" in connection with the cult of Sarapis.[7] A papyrus of the third century B.C. from Philadelphia mentions wheat for a "sacred table", probably at a royal festival.[8] Such a variety of documents shows clearly that the sacred meal of Dionysiac type played a significant role in Sarapis' cult from early in the Ptolemaic period until the Roman period, and both in royal and in popular practice.

Dionysus also appears in association with the Egyptian gods in sculpture, as on a relief plaque from Delos showing the Isiac head-

[1] *CE*, 20. Compare *CE*, 216, where benefactors are granted a place of honor at the cult banquet, κλισία ἔντιμος, and the "Acts of Kallistratos", *CE*, p. 222, line 38 (κλίνη σφιγγόπους) and n. 4 (κλίνης πόδες δύο καὶ κλαστήριον).

[2] *CE*, 1, line 65: ἕδρανά τε κλισμοί τε θεοκλητοὺς ἐπὶ δαῖτας. Compare H. Engelmann, *Die Delische Sarapisaretalogie* (*Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie*, No. 15: Meisenheim am Glan, 1964), pp. 47-48.

[3] *CE*, 25, compare *CE*, pp. 100 and 253, and *ID*, 2788.

[4] *IG*, XII, Suppl., 365, compare H. Seyrig, *Quatre cultes de Thasos*, in *BCH*, LI (1927), pp. 219-222, of the second century B.C.

[5] *PAthens*, 60.

[6] W. Erichsen, *Die Satzungen einer ägyptischen Kultgemeinschaft aus der Ptolemäerzeit nach einem demotischen Papyrus in Prag*, in Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, *Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter*, IV, No. 1 (Copenhagen, 1959). The date is the reign of Ptolemy IV. The right-hand column, line 6, mentions wine and beer drinking; in line 24, the society states its intention to drink with any member in bereavement, to give joy to his heart.

[7] Philippi: *SIRIS*, 120 (Roman, *Isidi Reginae*). Priene: *SEG*, XV, 688 (about 200 B.C.). Mylasa: *SIRIS*, 275 (Hellenistic). Compare the references cited by Dittenberger, *OGIS*, II, 456, n. on line 19.

[8] *PCairoZenon*, IV, 59708: τράπεζαν ἱεράν.

dress beside a man holding a thyrsus,[1] or the relief in Tunis which depicts the right side of a nude Dionysus holding the thyrsus, standing beside Isis, Sarapis, and Harpocrates.[2]

As early as the fifth century, Heraclitus had equated Dionysus and Hades,[3] and from the beginnings of the Hellenistic age the Dionysiac element probably played an important part in the Sarapis cult. Plutarch cited the Heraclitus passage in connection with the introduction of the Sarapis statue, and the Macedonian elements in Dionysus' cult also suggest that his connection with Sarapis was early, perhaps either under the first Ptolemy, when Macedonian loyalties would have been strongest, or else under Ptolemy IV, whose special devotion to Dionysus is well known.[4] The Dionysiac monuments at Memphis have been dated to the reign of Ptolemy I, on the basis of a statue of Demetrius of Phalerum in the hemicycle of sages.[5] This dating is reasonable, though it is only probable, not certain, that the figure represented is Demetrius. Even if it is Demetrius it is not impossible that a later Ptolemy included Demetrius, as the founder of the Library and Museum, in a group of poets and scholars. This could not have been Ptolemy II, whose accession Demetrius had opposed, but could have been Ptolemy IV.[6] Certainly Dionysus and Sarapis were associated by the end of the reign of Ptolemy IV, for an Alexandrian set up a dedication at Abu-el-Matamir in Egypt in the third century B.

[1] L. Bizard and G. Leroux, *Bas-rélief isiaque*, in *BCH*, XXXI (1907), pp. 524-525, fig. 23.

[2] *GGR*², II, pl. 11, 2. É. Michon, *Isis, Horus, et Sérapis accompagnés de Dionysos*, in *MMAI*, XXV (1921-1922), pp. 229-236, argued that it came from Alexandria.

[3] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 362A, "Αιδης καὶ Διόνυσος ωὐτὸς ὅτεῳ μαίνονται καὶ ληναΐζουσιν. Compare G. Daux, *Le relief éleusinien du musée de Chalcis*, in *BCH*, LXXXVIII (1964), pp. 433-441. On iconographical similarities of Dionysus to Hades, see K. Schauenburg, *Pluton und Dionysos*, in *JDAI*, LXVIII (1953), pp. 38-72.

[4] *GGR*², II, pp. 161-162. On the Ptolemies and Dionysus, see J. Tondriau, *La dynastie Ptolémaïque et la religion dionysiaque*, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXV (1950), pp. 283-316, and *Dionysos, dieu royal*, in *AIPhO*, XII (1952), pp. 441-466. . On the Dionysiac decree of Ptolemy IV (*BGU*, IV, 1211), see most recently G. Zuntz, *Once more the so-called Edict of Philopator on the Dionysiac mysteries*, in *Hermes*, XCI (1963), pp. 228-239, and 384.

[5] Picard, *Statues Ptolémaïques*, pp. 246-254.

[6] Compare p. 20, n. 2 above.

C. to Sarapis Dionysus, Isis Aphrodite, Savior Gods and Bringers of Plenty.[1]

The evidence, however, will not allow the claim that Dionysus and Sarapis were regularly identified as the same deity. The two gods appear in close connection with each other, but were usually named or represented separately. Thus in the later Hellenistic period at Athens and Lindus priests of Sarapis and of Dionysus are listed separately, and a dedication at Delos reads "to Dionysus *and* to Sarapis".[2] The proper conclusion seems to be that Sarapis was closely associated with Dionysus, but actual identification of the two was rare and sporadic.

We have seen that Sarapis emerged basically from a synthesis of Pluto's awesome appearance with a theology stressing the benevolent nature of Osiris. Greeks believed that Osiris was a benevolent god, and the source of this belief was less the direct testimony of the Egyptians than the Greek idea that Osiris was the same as Dionysus. Herein lies the indirect but important influence of Dionysus on the figure of Sarapis.

Dionysiac elements were introduced early in the Hellenistic period into the hellenized cult of Sarapis, at least at Memphis. The generally Memphite coloring of the Dionysus elements in the worship of Sarapis may suggest why Tacitus (*Historiae,* IV, 83) wrote that in Ptolemy's first vision there appeared a young god: it was the mythological Dionysus-Hades-Osiris of Memphis. The older, more forbidding deity of the second appearance is more like the regal statue which filled the Serapeum in Alexandria. This sequence of appearances may show that the official legend of the cult's introduction to Alexandria recognized the priority of Memphis, where Sarapis was worshipped under a more immediately chthonic aspect, with more Dionysiac elements. Thus too the poem of Maiistas at Delos acknowledged Memphis as the source of the cult,[3] just as Pausanias (I, 18, 4) stated the common belief that the Serapeum at Memphis was the most ancient in the world.

[1] *SB*,I, 5863: Σαράπιδι Διονύσωι "Ισιδι" Αφροδίτηι θεοῖς Σωτῆρσι καὶ Πολυφόροις.

[2] Athens: *IG*, II², 2336, of 102-98 B.C. Lindus: *SIRIS*, 202, 211, 211b, 215, 219, 221-224, 227, 229, 230, 233, dating from 215 B.C. to A.D. 50. Delos: *CE*, 45, before 166 B.C.

[3] *CE*, 1, line 38.

CHAPTER SIX

SARAPIS AND THE APIS BULL

A. The Apis Bull and Osiris

Sarapis was more than simply a Hellenized Osiris, even in the earliest stages of his development. The proof lies in the variety of gods identified with Sarapis, and the differences between the names and the physical appearances of Sarapis and Osiris. According to the most common theory in ancient and modern accounts, Sarapis was a fusion of Osiris with the Apis bull of Memphis.[1] The last four letters of Sarapis' name have lent authority to this view ever since Nymphodorus of Syracuse, in the late fourth century B.C. (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, I, 21, 106) derived "Sarapis" from Σορὸς Ἄπιδος, the tomb of the Apis bull, through the intermediate form "Soroapis".[2] The third-century Phylarchus (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 362B-C) accepted the god's origin in the bull of Memphis; his contemporary Aristeas of Argos (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, I, 21, 106) also derived "Sarapis" from "Apis", but he meant the Apis who was legendary king of Argos. Athenodorus of Tarsus in the first century B.C. (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, IV, 48) wrote that the statue of Sarapis was made from a combination of materials from the burial of Osiris and Apis.[3] According to Callimachus (Fr. 84, Pfeiffer) and Strabo (XVII, 1, 31), the Apis bull was the same as Osiris [4]; according to Diodorus (I, 85, 4), the soul of Osiris was changed after his death into the Apis bull.[5] Plutarch in a number of passages (*De Iside et Osiride*, 359B, 362C-D, 368C) referred to the Apis as the "image" of Osiris' soul.

[1] *UPZ*, pp. 25-29.

[2] Compare Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 362C.

[3] σύνθετον ἀπό τε Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ἄπιδος γενόμενον Ὀσίραπις.

[4] τοῦ Ἄπιδος, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Ὄσιρις.

[5] τελευτήσαντος Ὀσίριδος εἰς τοῦτον ἡ ψυχὴ μετέστη. Compare Diodorus, I, 21, 10.

B. Osiris-Apis and Sarapis at Memphis

The terminology of the Serapeum papyri enabled Wilcken to prove that "Sarapis" was equivalent to "Osorapis", the Greek transliteration of the Egyptian name *Wsir-Ḥp*, Osiris-Apis. The shrine of the bulls is called the Serapeum, τὸ Σαραπιεῖον, repeatedly in these documents, and the term "Osorapis" clearly refers to the souls of the dead Apis bulls whose souls have become part of Osiris. The "Curse of Artemisia", written in the middle of the fourth century B.C., uses the form "Oserapis" to refer to the Osirified bull god even before the beginning of the Hellenistic period.[1] Wilcken argued that not only the name but also the divine personality of Sarapis was an extension of that of Osorapis of Memphis, citing Sarapis' functions as a god of oracles and healing,[2] attested for the Apis bull by a stela from the second century B.C. which shows the bull standing beside an altar, accompanied by an inscription that alludes to the interpretation of dreams.[3] The same is true of Sarapis' identification with the sun, since in some documents Apis is called the son of Re.[4] The Apis bull was also considered a god of fertility and of the dead, as were both Osiris and Sarapis, and he was also associated with particular intimacy with the Pharaoh.[5] In addition, his popularity made the Apis bull an appropriate focus for a cult intended to draw together the various elements of the Ptolemaic population: according to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 380D) he was one of the most popular gods of the Egyptians, and Greeks not only could read about him in Herodotus (III, 27-28), but in subsequent centuries flocked in great numbers to his oracle.[6]

It is tempting to observe that many of these attributes seem to apply to the Apis bull, not necessarily to the Osorapis who developed into Sarapis, but this would involve too rigid an analysis, for "what

[1] *UPZ*, 1.

[2] *UPZ*, pp. 88-89.

[3] C. Edgar, *Greek Sculpture* (*CGC*, Nos. 27425-27630: Cairo, 1903), 27567: ἐνύπνια κρίνω τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταγμα ἔχων· τυχάγαθᾶι Κρής ἐστιν ὁ κρίνων τάδε.

[4] E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Aegypten* (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, No. 13: Leipzig, 1938), p. 27.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

appears to us as different beings were to the Egyptian only different aspects of one god".[1] These different aspects were represented with different iconography, for the Apis bull himself is always tauromorphic, often with his characteristic marks prominently displayed and carrying the sun disk between his horns.[2] Osiris-Apis (*Wsir-Ḥp*) on the other hand is regularly portrayed as a human with the head of a bull in Egyptianizing art of the late Pharaonic and Ptolemaic periods.[3] Wilcken maintained that the Egyptian cult statue of Osiris-Apis was anthropomorphic and seated, because of a phrase in the Curse of Artemisia describing him and his fellow gods as "seated" (καθήμενοι) at Memphis.[4] The suggestion may be right, but it is far from compelling, for the epithet need not mean any more than "located" [5] and the persistence of the monuments in representing Osiris-Apis with a bull's head argues against the hypothesis of an anthropomorphic statue in pre-Ptolemaic times. The Egyptian form of Osiris-Apis seems to have retained the appearance of the Apis bull.

On the other hand, Hellenizing portrayals of Sarapis have nothing at all to do with the bull. Only a few unimportant exceptions juxtapose Sarapis and the Apis bull, and then it is done so indirectly that there is little question of a real identification of the two.[6] For example, on a Roman coin from the Hypselite nome a god who may be Sarapis holds a small Apis bull in his right hand.[7] A

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[2] For example, the Hadrianic Apis from Alexandria, G. Botti, *Catalogue des Monuments Exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie* (Alexandria, 1901), pp. 316-320.

[3] For example, G. Daressy, *Statues de Divinités*, I (*CGC*, Nos. 38001-39384: Cairo, 1906), 38589 and 38589 bis; V. Schmidt, *Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg: Choix de Monuments Égyptiens*, 2e Sér. (Brussels, n.d.), p. 52 and fig. 87; and W. Emery, in *JEA*, LIV (1968), p. 2.

[4] *UPZ*, p. 24. Compare E. Kiessling, *Die Götter von Memphis in griechisch-römischer Zeit*, in *APF*, XV (1953), pp. 19-20.

[5] M. Guilmot, *Le Sarapieion de Memphis, Étude topographique*, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXXVII (1962), p. 364, n. 9.

[6] Two interesting anomalous cases of the later Roman period are an altar of the god Amounapis in the Fayum, *BGU*, I, 162, and the temple of Sarapis Osormnevis, derived from the Mnevis bull of Heliopolis, at Socnopaeu Nesos, *SB*, X, 10281. (Compare *UPZ*, cited p. 64, n. 2 below).

[7] A. Michaelis, *Sarapis standing on a Xanthian marble*, in *JHS*, VI (1885), p. 307, pl. E13.

wall painting from Pompeii shows a draped figure with the head of a bull,[1] but the style is Egyptianizing and is probably intended to be the Egyptian Osiris-Apis. A coin from Sinope, with a bull's head perched on a human leg, has also been connected with Sarapis.[2] These are all Roman in date. The only Hellenistic example of the Apis bull as an attribute of Sarapis is a relief from Rhodes the interpretation of which is doubtful. On it Sarapis, Isis, and Harpocrates appear with a cow or bull between them and a bird, only the legs of which are visible, on a pillar. The bird may be the falcon of Horus, and the other animal may be Apis, though it is more likely that it is a cow and should be associated with Isis, by whose side it stands.[3]

Apparently, then, the Egyptian tradition accepted and maintained that at least Osiris-Apis was the same as the bull-god of Memphis. The derivation of the Hellenic Sarapis from Apis also found support in the native priesthoods, and may well have originated in the Ptolemaic court, perhaps as the idea of Manetho the Egyptian priest. The presence of the shrine of Sarapis inside the precinct of the Apis bull [4] strongly suggests that the resident priests and the royal sponsor agreed on this point. It was only natural that at Memphis the "-apis" element in Sarapis' name was interpreted in terms of the Apis bull. In the earliest days of the reign of Ptolemy I, Memphis was the capital of Egypt,[5] and as a result the close connection of the god with the sacred bull remained a constantly recurring feature in the theology of Sarapis.

[1] *RPGR*, p. 160, 9.

[2] S. de Ricci, *Sarapis et Sinope*, in *RA*, 4e Sér., XVI (1910), pp. 96-100.

[3] Our Fig. 4; P. Perdrizet, *Réliefs grecs inédits du Musée Britannique*, in *BCH*, XXIII (1899), pp. 559-560, pl. 3A; W. Amelung, *Fragment eines Votivreliefs aus Rhodos*, in *MDAI(R)*, XVI (1901), pp. 258-263, fig. 1; L. Laurenzi, *Relievi e statue d'arte rodia*, in *MDAI(R)*, LIV (1939), pp. 44-46, fig. 3. Perdrizet denied that the relief shows Egyptian divinities; Amelung doubted that the seated figure can be Sarapis, but considered the cow as an attribute of Isis. Laurenzi accepted the seated figure as Sarapis, the female as Isis, and the figure at the right (of which only a hand holding a palm is preserved) as Hermanubis or Harpocrates. E. Thiemann, *Hellenistische Vatergottheiten*, (Münster, 1959), p. 71, dated the relief to around 170 B.C.; he viewed the cow as an attribute of Isis.

[4] M. Guilmot, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-366.

[5] Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 2, n. 1, and Welles, *Discovery*, p. 27, n. 8.

The derivation of Sarapis from the Apis bull is repeated beginning in the fourth century by writers attempting to explain the etymology of his name, but their explanations were never more than theory and speculation. Even they did not state explicitly that Sarapis *was* Apis, but only that his *name* was *derived* from that of Apis, and that he was closely associated with the bull of Memphis. It is interesting to find, in a letter written in the Serapeum in the second century B.C., three quite distinct terms:[1] τὸ Σαραπιεῖον meant the temple of Sarapis, and referred to the whole sacred precinct; Ὀσορᾶπις, the term used in the Curse of Artemisia for the Osirified souls of the Apis bulls, denoted the deity to whom libations were made on the king's behalf; and the simple Ἆπις referred to the individual Apis bulls, whether alive or dead.[2] This letter was written on behalf of the two Egyptian girls who served as "twins" on the temple staff, but the terminology certainly reflects the usage of their Greek protector Ptolemaeus, who wrote the letter for them.

The iconography of the statue which we have assigned to Memphis[3] subtly alludes to the pervasive influence of the Apis bull, but without presenting Sarapis as a bull. The calathus and cornucopiae suggested the bull's concern for the fertility of the soil; the chiton of Pluto and the patera recalled Apis' connection with the underworld and his return into the godhead of Osiris after death; even the shape of the cornucopiae echoes that of the bull's horns.[4] The allusions are muted, and can equally well be interpreted as attributes of Osiris. The reason for the limited association of Sarapis with Apis surely lies in the Greek antipathy to animal

[1] *UPZ*, 19. Compare *UPZ*, 109, of 98 B.C., where both "Osorapis" and "Sarapis" appear, but not in a mutually exclusive way; and *UPZ*, 65, of 154 B.C., with the theophoric name Peteusorapios.

[2] *UPZ*, 54, ἡ ἀναγογὴ τοῦ Ὀσοράπιος; *UPZ*, 57, ὁ βουκόλος τοῦ Ὀσορᾶπι; *UPZ*, 106, Ὀσοράπιος καὶ Ὀσορομνεύιος θεῶν ἀειζώιων καὶ με[γίστων]. Compare *UPZ*, 19, line 24: τὸ πένθος τοῦ Ἄπιος.

[3] Chapter II above.

[4] On the relief from Xanthos published by Michaelis, in *JHS*, VI (1885), p. 307, two bull's horns hang down from the top of the god's cornucopiae. A possible parallel is Callimachus, *Ep.* 371, Pfeiffer, which dedicates a horn to Sarapis.

worship, that Egyptian idiosyncrasy which in turn fascinated, amused, and repelled the Greeks, and provided Christian apologists with a target for some of their most righteously indignant vituperation.[1]

C. The Continuing Cult of the Apis Bull

It is not surprising that the cult of the Apis bull retained its distinct identity throughout the Ptolemaic period. The priests naturally continued to replace each dead Apis with its successor, and the immediacy of his presence in his shrine at Memphis helped his cult remain vigorous through the Roman period as well, not to end until after the reign of Julian the Apostate.[2]

The Ptolemaic dynasty itself was a consistently strong patron of the cult of the bull, following the lead of the Pharaohs and of Alexander.[3] At the beginning of his reign Ptolemy I contributed fifty silver talents to Apis' burial expenses.[4] Ptolemy II commanded his finance minister Apollonius to provide one hundred talents of myrrh "for the burial", apparently of the Apis bull.[5] Among the benefactions of Ptolemy V listed on the Rosetta stone was a new Apieion at Memphis.[6] Finally, a royal ordinance of Ptolemy VIII has been preserved in which the crown undertook to pay for the burial of Apis, Mnevis and the other sacred animals.[7]

Throughout antiquity, in literary and documentary sources, Apis appears independently from Sarapis, though often associated with him. The Apis bull was certainly worshipped at the Alexandrian

[1] See Hopfner, *Fontes*, index, pp. 810-812. As Clement of Alexandria pointed out, *Protrepticus*, II, 39, the Greeks themselves were not above a primitive animal worship, and he lists several such cults in Greece.

[2] Mustafa el Amir, *The σῆκος of Apis at Memphis*, in *JEA*, XXXIV (1948), pp. 51-56; J. Dimick, *The embalming house of the Apis bulls*, in R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh* 1955 (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 75-79; A. Hermann, *Der letzte Apisstier*, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, III (1960), pp. 34-50.

[3] Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 1, 4.

[4] Diodorus, I, 84, 8.

[5] *PSI*, IV, 328, εἰς τὴν ταφ[ήν], 258/257 B.C., from the Zenon archive.

[6] *SB*. V, 8299 (*OGIS*, I, 90), line 33, dated 196 B.C.

[7] M-T. Lenger, *Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées* (Brussels, 1964), 53 (*PTeb*, I, 5), lines 77-82, of 118 B.C.

Serapeum, but apparently in a separate shrine.[1] Callimachus (fr. 811, Pfeiffer) mentioned the myth of Osiris and of Apis without alluding in the slightest degree to Sarapis.[2] From the second century B.C., an inscription from Chalcis names Sarapis and Apis as separate divinities,[3] and the cult regulations at Priene include a separate sacrifice to Apis.[4] Most explicit is a Ptolemaic graffito of a certain Haemus, who signed himself as a slave of Sarapis *and* Apis.[5] An inventory of the Roman period from Pergamum lists a statue of the Apis separately from Sarapis,[6] and a Hellenistic inscription at Lebadea reading "of the Bull God" may refer to an independent altar of Apis.[7] Within Egypt, there is some evidence that a separate shrine of Apis stood in Oxyrhynchus.[8] The recently published texts of two papyri demonstrate that Apis as an independent deity was still worshipped at Memphis in the third century A.D.[9]

The persistence of the cult of Apis may help explain why Sarapis is so frequently derived from the bull in the extant literary references. As Egyptian nationalism grew under the later kings of the Ptolemaic dynasty, a priesthood whose strength and prestige was growing was able to assert more and more forcefully Sarapis'

[1] C. Botti, *loc. cit.*, p. 62, n. 2 above; A. Wace, *Greek inscriptions from the Serapeum*, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of Farouk I University* (Alexandria), II (1944), p. 21, n. 2, has suggested that the statue base with the early Ptolemaic lettering Σαρά[πει κ]αὶ Ἶσι originally held a representation of Apis. Wilcken, *UPZ*, p. 93, hypothesized an aedicula of Apis at the Alexandria Serapeum.

[2] The Egyptians, on seeing the bull, "putaverunt illum Osirim esse et ut deum adorare".

[3] *IG*, XII, 9, 926: Σαράπιδι, Ἴσιδι, Ἀνούβιδι, Ἄπιδι.

[4] *SEG*, XV, 688, incorporating a conjecture by M. N. Tod, in *Gnomon*, XXVIII (1956), p. 458.

[5] *SB*, IV, 7898.

[6] *SIRIS*, 313.

[7] *IG*, VII, 1787. The reference may of course be to Dionysus Tauromorphus instead.

[8] *PSI*, X, 1128: ἐν τῷ ἐνταῦθα Ὀσοραπείῳ; *POxy*, XXXI, 2581, πυλῶνος Ἀπιδίου λίθοι, third century A.D. Compare also *POxy*, VII, 1029, where an Egyptian is identified as a carver of hieroglyphs of Apis, and SB, X, 10500, a will witnessed with a seal of Apis.

[9] E. Turner, *My Lord Apis*, in *Recherches de Papyrologie*, II (1962), pp. 117-121, and *My Lord Apis—a further instance*, in *Studien . . . Fr. Oertel* (Bonn, 1964), pp. 32-33.

pedigree in the Egyptian animal god. In the early years of the dynasty, on the other hand, his connection with the Apis bull was articulated chiefly in literary works of theological speculation, rather than in the iconography of statues or the expressions of popular piety.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SARAPIS AND APIS THE KING

A. The Testimony of Aristeas of Argos

One explanation of the "-apis" element in the name of Sarapis which was current in antiquity has received scant attention in the modern literature. This is the opinion, ascribed to Aristeas of Argos by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis*, I, 21, 106), that Sarapis was a deified form of an Argive king named Apis:

> Apis the king of Argos settled Memphis, as Aristippus says in the first book of his *Arcadica*. Aristeas the Argive says that this Apis received the new name Sarapis and that it is he whom the Egyptians worship.[1]

Varro also mentioned the theory (Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 5) as did Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*, II, 1). This Apis had been described at some length by Aeschylus in connection with the daughters of Aegyptus (*Supplices*, 260-273) as a healer and seer (ἰατρόμαντις) from Naupactus who rid Argos of a plague of serpents and inspired an alternate name of the Peloponnese, "Apia".

This passage can be interpreted either as a serious attempt by Aristeas to explain the nature of Sarapis, or as a sceptical, perhaps frivolous, attempt to reduce Sarapis to human measure in accord with the "atheistic" theories of Euhemerus. Modern scholars have generally adopted the latter approach, and taken the statement as a bit of foolishness that requires only the most casual dismissal.[2] This was also the view of Varro, who interjected what we may hope is a facetious statement, that the priests placed in nearly every

[1] Ἄπίς τε ὁ Ἄργους βασιλεὺς Μέμφιν οἰκίζει, ὥς φησι Ἀρίστιππος ἐν πρώτῃ Ἀρκαδικῶν. τοῦτον δὲ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐπονομασθῆναί φησι Σάραπιν καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι σέβουσιν.

[2] Hopfner, *Plutarch*, II, p. 130; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der Aegyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 649.

temple a statue with a finger to its lips,[1] to admonish anyone who knew of the god's human origin not to say anything about it.

Euhemerism was already a dominant force in religious thought in the later fourth century. It was often expressed in terms which are unequivocally sceptical, as in the hymn composed for Demetrius Poliorcetes in 299 B.C.:

> Other gods keep far away, or have no ears, or do not exist, or else do not care for us one bit; but you [King Demetrius] we see present, not of wood or stone, but real; and so we pray to you.[2]

This is the sort of scornful view of the gods which Callimachus was combatting in several of his works:

> Zeus, some say you were born in the Idaean mountains; Zeus, others say in Arcadia; which ones, father, were lying? "Cretans always are liars", they say: for Cretans have fabricated a tomb for you, O King; but you did not die; you live for ever. (*Hymn to Zeus*, 6-9) [3]
>
> Come all together to the temple before the wall,[4] where that old man who made Zeus come from Panchaea long ago babbles and scribbles his scurrilous books. (*Iambus* I, fr. 191, Pfeiffer, 9-11) [5]

[1] Harpocrates was regularly represented with finger on mouth.

[2] Athenaeus, VI, 63, 253D-F (Duris of Samos, *FGrH*, 76, fr. 13): ἄλλοι μὲν ἢ μακρὰν γὰρ ἀπέχουσιν θεοὶ / ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὦτα / ἢ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἢ οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἕν, / σὲ δὲ παρόνθ' ὁρῶμεν, / οὐ ξύλινον οὐδὲ λίθινον, ἀλλ' ἀληθινόν, / εὐχόμεσθα δή σοι.

[3] Ζεῦ, σὲ μὲν Ἰδαίοισιν ἐν οὔρεσί φασι γενέσθαι, / Ζεῦ, σὲ δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ. πότεροι, πάτερ, ἐψεύσαντο; / Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο / Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί. Compare S. Spyridakis, *Zeus is dead: Euhemerus and Crete*, in *CJ*, LXIII (1968), pp. 337-340; and T. Brown, *Euhemerus and the historians*, in *HThR*, XXXIX (1946), pp. 259-274. For the fragments of Euhemerus, *FGrH*, 63.

[4] The "Diegeseis" explain that this is the Serapeum of Parmeniscus: R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, I (Oxford, 1949), p. 163. Compare p. 71 below.

[5] ἐς τὸ πρὸ τείχευς ἰρὸν ἁλέες δεῦτε, / οὗ τὸν πάλαι Πάγχαιον ὁ πλάσας Ζῆνα / γέρων λαλάζων ἄδικα βιβλία ψήχει.

Callimachus' attitude is interesting, since Aristeas appears to have been his contemporary, during the reign of Ptolemy II.[1] As it is even possible that Aristeas was associated with the court of Ptolemy II, we may guess that the views of Aristeas and Callimachus came into well defined and perhaps violent conflict; this may even partly explain why Sarapis is mentioned so seldom in the extant works of Callimachus.[2] He did not approve of Euhemeristic interpretations, and one current theory viewed Sarapis in a Euhemeristic way.[3] Therefore, in spite of Sarapis' popularity with the royal family, Callimachus managed to avoid writing about him. There is no reason to assume that Callimachus' opinion was more widespread than that of Aristeas: in the famous literary dispute with Apollonius of Rhodes in which he was engaged, it is not apparent that Callimachus had the last word.[4] Similarly, neither the polemics of Callimachus against Euhemerus nor the objections of such orthodox writers as Varro (*loc. cit.*) and Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 359D-360B) require us to reject Aristeas' theory. There are, actually, grounds for believing that it was a serious proposal which enjoyed some currency in official circles during the early Ptolemaic age. The theory is, certainly, Euhemeristic, but in spite of Callimachus' description of Euhemerus as a babbling old man and several references to him in other, later

[1] In *Aristeas of Argos in Alexandria*, in *Aegyptus*, XLVII (1967), pp. 69-74, I have accepted the suggestion of Müller (*FHG*, IV, p. 327), that this Aristeas of Argos is the man who betrayed Argos to Pyrrhus in 279 B.C. (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 30-32, and Polyaenus, *Strategmata*, VIII, 68), and argued that he was an adviser at the court of Ptolemy II who served as the prototype of the pseudonymous author of the "Letter of Aristeas" connected with the translation of the Pentateuch into Greek.

[2] Only in *Ep.* 37 and (not by name) *Ep.* 55, Pfeiffer.

[3] Another reason, suggested by Fraser, *Two studies*, pp. 9-12, may have been "a very strong conviction that the new God was not a suitable subject for poetry". He assumed that this meant that Sarapis' appeal in the third century was more political than religious, but in the light of Chapter IV above, we might suggest that Callimachus did not mention him in his mythologically oriented works because Sarapis was not a mythological figure, but rather an immanent god active in the lives of his devotees. In this connection it is surely significant that the two epigrams in which Callimachus does mention Sarapis both commemorate blessings of the god.

[4] G. M. A. Grube, *The Greek and Roman Critics* (London, 1965), p. 127.

sources as an atheist,[1] it is quite possible that in the early Hellenistic period Euhemerism was compatible with reverence for the gods. Euhemerus himself may well have been part of the intellectual establishment of Ptolemy II: the lines from the *Iambi* clearly state that Euhemerus thought and worked in the "temple before the wall". Given the likelihood that this temple was the Great Serapeum of Rhacotis, and the fact that Ptolemy II organized the "daughter library" there,[2] it seems likely that Euhemerus was working under royal patronage. This need not mean that he was mouthing official doctrine, but it does mean that Callimachus' voice was not the only one heard in the Alexandria of Ptolemy II.

To return to Aristeas, in his way he may well have been just as opposed to the mood of the hymn to Demetrius Poliorcetes as was Callimachus, but instead of railing helplessly against an intellectual trend of steadily increasing influence, he tried to use a Euhemeristic approach to further the new cult of Sarapis. In doing so he went far toward making Sarapis intellectually respectable to the sophisticated theological world of the third century B.C. The vehemence of Callimachus' opposition to Euhemerism may be seen as something of a minority report, all the more militant for being in the minority. By the middle of the third century, intellectuals as well as laymen had become used to seeing mortal kings elevated to godhead. Alexander's cult must have attracted widespread devotion, at least in Alexandria. Heracles provided an appropriate parallel in traditional myth. The climate was congenial to Euhemerism in Egypt, where the line between divinity and royal humanity had always been vague, and where Osiris was

[1] Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.*, IX, 17. See *FGrH*, I, pp. 300-302.

[2] The "Diegesis", *PMilVogl*, I, 18, col. VI, lines 1-4, explains that this was τὸ Παρμενίωνος καλούμενον Σαραπίδειον. Pseudo-Callisthenes, I, 33 states explicitly, and *PCairoZenon*, III, 59355, lines 100-103, clearly implies, that the Greak Serapeum of Rhacotis (site of the Daughter Library) was also known as "Parmenion's". Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, II (Oxford, 1953), pp. xxxix-xl, and Fraser, *Current problems*, pp. 39-40, have raised the topographical objection that the Great Serapeum was inside rather than "in front of" the walls. This however places too much stress on one word in a very fragmentary passage—the wall may not even be the city wall, or else πρό could have been used from the point of view of someone already inside the city. See Welles, *Discovery*, p. 286.

widely viewed as a mortal king who had been deified. Plutarch wrote (*De Iside et Osiride*, 359D-360B) that according to one theory Osiris was originally a king who was deified; and although Plutarch rejected this interpretation, his own words indicate that it was widely held and had the support of the traditions of Egyptian mythology which made Osiris a mortal. Egyptian mythology did indeed name various gods and demi-gods as the first kings of Egypt,[1] and Diodorus (I, 13, 4) specifically included Osiris and Isis, as well as Typho, Apollo and Aphrodite as gods who were at first mortal but through various types of virtue attained immortality. The devout Apuleius (*De Deo Socratis*, 153-154) also included Osiris, along with Amphiaraus, Mopsus, and Aesculapius, in a list of men who had been honored with divine honors because of the upright quality of their lives.

B. Aristeas and Euhemerism

The theory that Sarapis was originally the Greek king Apis may have done much to make Sarapis more congenial to his worshippers, and to provide another point on which they could form a viable relationship with the newly hellenized god. Aristeas' explanation gave a genuinely Hellenic pedigree to a deity otherwise firmly rooted in Egyptian tradition.

Apis was a physician-hero, for example. As a result his activities paralleled those of Asclepius. This may help explain how the healing aspect of Sarapis was integrated with the basic conception of him as an underworld deity. Apis, like Osiris, was a king; Apis, like Osiris, died in Egypt. If, as is probable within the framework of the legend, he received Egyptian burial rites, he must have become an Osiris, for a central part of Egyptian belief about the dead was that they became a part of Osiris' godhead.[2] It would be

[1] Manetho, fr. 3, Waddell; Diogenes Laertius, I, 1; Diodorus, I, 26, 1 and I, 44, 1; Athenagoras, *Supplicium*, 28. Compare Hopfner, *Plutarch*, II, pp. 107-109; A. Rowe, *Newly-identfied monuments in the Egyptian Museum showing the deification of the dead*, in *ASAE*, XL (1940), pp. 1-67, 291-299; and H. Goedicke, *A deification of a private person in the Old Kingdom*, in *JEA*, XLI (1955), pp. 31-33.

[2] S. Morenz, *Aegyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 139, 220.

easy to go one step farther and claim that Apis, like Osiris, became immortal and ruled over the underworld, but maintained his interest in the welfare of those still in the world of the living.

The connection of Sarapis with Apis the King was appropriate because it added another strand to the common religious bond that Sarapis provided between the Egyptian and Greek subjects of Ptolemaic Egypt. Apparently it was a coincidence that there was a figure named Apis in both the Egyptian and the Greek traditions, but it was a happy coincidence.[1] The Apis bull was exceptionally popular among Egyptians and Greeks. King Apis was congenial to the Greeks in Alexandria because like them he had journeyed to Egypt; the Egyptians would have taken no offense, since they considered their own gods to have been mortal once.

At any rate, the Ptolemaic promoters of the cult were able to exploit the ambiguity in the name "Apis" to widen the appeal of Sarapis—and add a further element to the royal nature which his statue at Alexandria stressed. The implied Euhemerism of this view also strengthened the close bond between king and god. This may have been partly responsible for the gradual blurring of the distinction between mortal and god later in the Hellenistic period,[2] but at the beginning the intention seems to have been to make him more impressive by adding one more thread to the syncretistic fabric woven about the divine nature of the newly Hellenized god.

This all may have had no more real appeal to the mass of the Alexandrian population than did the bull identification, but it does explain the simple iconography of the Alexandria statue. Under Ptolemy II both Aristeas' and Callimachus' theories were in circulation. Perhaps neither was official, but the royal nature of the statue at Alexandria, with its pronounced anthropomorphism (in contrast to the more extensive iconographic baggage of the Memphis statue) suggests that its sculptor and Aristeas were thinking along similar lines. Certainly Euhemeristic thought was current even in the reign of Ptolemy I; we have seen the probability that the statue at Alexandria was installed in that first reign of the dynasty. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that Aristeas' identification of Sarapis

[1] Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, XI, 23, has combined the two traditions.
[2] E. Thiemann, *Hellenistische Vatergottheiten* (Münster, 1959), p. 92.

and Apis the King was known quite early in Sarapis' career, which means that Aristeas may not have been the first to propose it, and that it was from the first concurrent with the theory of Nymphodorus of Syracuse, who lived in the fourth century and wrote (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, I, 21, 106) that Sarapis' name referred to the tomb of the Apis bull. Further evidence that the identification with Apis the King dates from the reign of Ptolemy I is that he had already assumed during that period the role of a healing god, which was also an attribute of Apis: the hymns written by Demetrius of Phalerum after Sarapis cured his blindness were written under Ptolemy I.[1] This evidence, however, is not conclusive, and we should acknowledge the possibility that this theory did not come into currency until the reign of Ptolemy II, when Greek ideas dominated more clearly over Egyptian ones.

It is worth noting that the connection with King Apis is more congenial at Alexandria than in the old pharaonic city of Memphis where "Apis" could really only mean the Apis bull. This is true even though Aristippus, in the passage from Clement, states that Apis founded Memphis. Apparently Aristippus lived a generation or two later than Aristeas,[2] and under the influence of Aristeas' theory, he brought the Argive king into closer connection with the bull of Memphis. Later, certainly, the connection with Apis the King fell from favor, especially with the Egyptian priesthoods. That may explain why Varro, in the first century B.C., expressed a low opinion of Aristeas' idea. Plutarch also observed (*De Iside et Osiride*, 362C-D) that most of the priests accepted the doctrine that the godhead of Sarapis was composed of Osiris and the Apis bull joined together. Certainly the connection with the bull was always important at Memphis, and perhaps in the second century B.C., when Egyptian national feelings were more sensitive both in politics and religion, the priests began to insist on Sarapis' ultimate pedigree through the bull of Memphis, as part of their indigenous heritage of animal worship. This would account for the prevalence of the bull-theory in the later sources.

[1] Artemidorus, *Onirocritica*, II, 44; Diogenes Laertius, V, 76.

[2] E. Schwartz, art. *Aristippos* (7), in *R-E*, II, col. 902, dated him not later than the second century B.C.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SARAPIS AND ASCLEPIUS

Many, according to Tacitus (*Historiae*, IV, 84, 5) believed that Sarapis and Asclepius were the same god, and a late Roman inscription from Labena in Crete provides epigraphical support of his statement.[1] During the Hellenistic period, however, the two gods are never explicitly identified, although the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia is often closely connected with that of Sarapis and Isis. Individuals express interest in both gods in the same document,[2] Sarapis or Isis is venerated near or beside statues of Asclepius,[3] and at Delos, Serapeum C provides dedications of the late second century B.C. to Asclepius, to Asclepius and Hygieia, and to Isis Hygieia.[4] The two cults also seem to have used such strikingly similar practices as daily morning and evening services [5] and priestly vestments.[6] Beyond this, the cult statue of Asclepius at Epidaurus, the work of Thrasymedes in the first half of the fourth century B.C., bore a noteworthy resemblance to the Hellenistic Sarapis statue in Alexandria both in pose and iconography.[7] Pausanias even mentioned (II, 27, 6) an "Egyptian" epithet of Asclepius, Hygieia and Apollo at Epidaurus.

[1] *SIRIS*, 161: Διὶ Σεράπιδι Ἀσκληπιῷ ἰατρῷ.

[2] From the first century A.D., *SIRIS*, 249; and *IG*, V, 2, 269, in which a sacrifice to Asclepius and Hygieia is associated with a share ἐν τοῖς Ἰσιακοῖς καὶ πυροφορικοῖς δείπνοις.

[3] Pausanias, III, 22, 13 and VII, 26, 7.

[4] *CE*, 205, 204, and 124. Compare *IG*, XII, 3, 1087, which can be restored [Ἀσκλη]πι[ῷ κ]αὶ Ὑ[γιε]ίᾳ or [Σαρά]πι [καὶ Ἴσι κ]αὶ Ὑ[γιε]ίᾳ.

[5] Theocritus, *Epigrammata*, 8, Gow (*Anthologia Graeca*, VII, 659); Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 1027; Aelian, fr. 98; Aristides, XLVII, 11; Porphyrius, *De Abstinentia*, IV, 9; and Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI. Compare E. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius* (Baltimore, 1945), II, pp. 193-194, with review by M. Nilsson, in *AJP*, LXVIII (1947), p. 218, adding the hymns from Epidaurus, *IG*, IV², 1, 132-134, and Athens, *IG*, II², 4533; and Nilsson, *Divine service in late antiquity*, in *HThR*, XXXVIII (1945), pp. 63-69.

[6] Edelstein, *op. cit.*, II, p. 192; and F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1955), p. 43.

[7] Picard, *Manuel*, III, 1, pp. 215-221.

Sarapis and Asclepius also shared similar powers and interests. In Hellenistic central Greece, for instance, they both received manumitted slaves,[1] and both naturally performed miracles of healing for their devotees. Demetrius of Phalerum was cured of blindness by Sarapis, and also wrote five books about dreams and cures involving Sarapis.[2] Tacitus (*Historiae*, IV, 82) records that Vespasian performed several miraculous healings under the auspices of Sarapis when he was in Alexandria in A.D. 69. Inscriptions in the Delos Serapea frequently allude to dream appearances, which parallel those in which Asclepius appeared at his shrines.[3] A dedication at Cnidus thanks Sarapis, Isis, and all the gods for a cure.[4] Prayers to Sarapis for health are also frequent in Ptolemaic Egypt.[5]

The hymns of Demetrius of Phalerum may indicate that it was the royal court that provided the initial impetus for faith in Sarapis as a healing god. The idea was not confined to the royal propaganda, but was also congenial to the popular view, for the documentation just cited consists almost entirely of expressions of ceremony and popular piety. Demetrius' hymns also show that Sarapis assumed his interest in healing during the reign of Ptolemy I, since he dropped from public activity and involvement in royal projects as soon as Ptolemy II became king.[6] The tradition about dream appearances also originated, apparently, during the reign of Ptolemy I. These two features, together with the iconographical similarity of the statues of Sarapis at Alexandria and Asclepius at Epidaurus, make clear the extent to which aspects of Asclepius' divine personality helped form the conception of Sarapis at the

[1] Sarapis: at Chaeronea, *IG*, VII, 3301-3399, *passim*; at Orchomenus, *IG*, VII, 3198-3204; at Naupactus, *SEG*, XII, 295 and 296; all are from the second century B.C. Asclepius: at Elatea, *IG*, IX, 1, 120-127; at Naupactus, *IG*, IX, 1, 359-361, 364-370, 379-385. Dionysus: at Naupactus, *IG*, IX, 1, 372-378.

[2] Artemidorus, *Onirocritica*, II, 44; Diogenes Laertius, V, 76.

[3] P. 49, n. 1 above.

[4] *SIRIS*, 268. It may be significant that θεραπευτής, with its connotation of physical healing, is a position held by officials particularly in the Greco-Egyptian cults.

[5] For example, *SB*, V, 7618, from Memphis, δέωμαι δὲ περί σου πρὸς τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ τὴν Ἶσιν ὅπως ὑγιαίνῃς.

[6] Diogenes Laertius, V, 78.

very beginning of the Hellenistic period. (It is perhaps only fair that later in antiquity we find the Asclepius cult imitating such Egyptian religious customs as daily prayers and special vestments.)

But two points ought to be emphasized. First, the Asclepius attributes enriched the basic concept of Pluto-Osiris-Sarapis. There is, however, no evidence for formal syncretism with Asclepius, except for the "many" mentioned by Tacitus. Not even this, however, indicates anything like a general acceptance of the identification: his sources may well be later than the chronological limits of the Hellenistic period; they are probably literary sources whose opinions were not accepted in popular cult usage; and the apparent emphasis Tacitus places on this opinion is probably due more to the context of Vespasian's cures than to any general acceptance of it. In none of our documentary sources, at least, were Sarapis and Asclepius thought of as one god, nor did either partake in any way of the divinity of the other. They simply exercised their power in similar ways. Second, it is normally in connection with the Alexandrian cult that Sarapis performs healing miracles—at any rate, the healing function is not as prominent at Memphis as the chthonic function. A reason for this may be that in the Egyptian pantheon there already was a personality associated with Asclepius, Imouthes (or Imhotep) the legendary scribe-become-god of the third dynasty. At Memphis, very near the shrine of the Apis bull, was Imhotep's most important shrine,[1] to which the papyri frequently refer as τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον, and which was the scene of considerable cult activity in Ptolemaic times.[2] Thus Memphis, where a distinct and prosperous shrine of Asclepius/Imhotep existed, was not the place for Sarapis to assume the features of Asclepius[3];

[1] W. Emery, *Preliminary report on the excavations at North Saqqara*, in *JEA*, LI (1965), pp. 3-8, and LII (1966), pp. 3-8. See in general O. Weinreich, *Imhotep-Asklepios und die Griechen*, in *Aegyptus*, XI (1931), pp. 17-22.

[2] *UPZ*, 57: ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἔχει λίθεινα σπονδῆα ἄνω ἐν τῷ Σαραπιείῳ. Ἔθος ἐστὶ σπένδειν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ ὁ βυκόλος τοῦ Ὀσοραπι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρτους λαμβάνει.

[3] The λυχνάπτιον-inscription, *UPZ*, p. 35, mentions health as a blessing "of the god", generally assumed to be Sarapis. This fourth-century document stands alone among those from Memphis, compare *UPZ*, pp. 34-35: "Während für den hellenistischen Sarapis seine Heilkunst eine seiner hervorstechendsten Kräfte ist, ist für den Osorapis des Zentraltempels diese Kunst nicht bezeugt und wohl auch kaum zu postulieren".

instead, under the funerary influence of the cult of Apis, he took on the strongly chthonic, Dionysiac character which we have seen. At Alexandria, however—where the accent seems generally to have been on a more royal, upper-worldly god, yet one whose concern (like the Ptolemaic royal couple's) was the well-being of his devotees —the attributes and personality of the Asclepius type were particularly well suited.[1] And since such a conception did dominate at Alexandria, physical healing would be a natural concomitant, especially in a period as conscious of healing cults as the late fourth century B.C.[2]

[1] There is no evidence for a Hellenistic cult of Asclepius in Alexandria, compare E. Visser, *Götter und Kulte im Ptolemäischen Alexandrien* (Amsterdam, 1938), pp. 39-40.

[2] Brady, *Reception*, p. 12, suggested that his healing abilities were derived from similar properties ascribed to Isis.

CHAPTER NINE

LATER HELLENISTIC IDENTIFICATIONS

A. Helius

During the centuries following the reign of the first Ptolemy, Sarapis tended more and more to acquire the attributes of other gods of a transcendent nature, to the extent that his godhead became the major focal point of later Hellenistic syncretism. Sarapis' identification with the Sun is an example of the way he attracted the attributes and personalities of other, older gods. The phrase "Zeus Helius Great Sarapis" was an exceedingly common formula in the second and third centuries A.D.[1] The same series of names occurs in two earlier inscriptions from Italy[2] and in one highly restored dedication from the reign of Ptolemy XIII.[3]

[1] See W. Weber, *Drei Untersuchungen zur Aegyptisch-Griechischen Religion* (Heidelberg, 1911), pp. 5-18. *IG*, XII, 2, 114; *IG*, XIV, 914, 915, 1024, 1030, 1031, 1084 and 1127; *SEG*, VII, 838; *SEG*, IX, 820; *SB*, I, 402, 1015 and 1555; *SB*, V, 8095 (*SEG*, VIII, 455), 8281, 8320 (*SEG*, XIV, 900), 8323 (*CIG*, III, 4713c), 8324(*OGIS*, II, 678), 8448 and 8452; *CIG*, III, 4962; R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (Paris, 1911-1927), III, 155; Breccia, *Iscrizioni*, 100; *POxy*, VIII, 1149; *POxy*, IX, 1213; *POxy*, XI, 1382; *SIRIS*, 366 and 367; S. deRicci, *Bulletin épigraphique de l'Égypte romaine*, in *APF*, II (1903), p. 450, 87. The phrase is restored in *SEG*, XIII, 611; *SEG*, XV, 438; *SB*, I, 431; *SB*, IV, 7309, 7473 (*SEG*, VIII, 658); *SB*, V, 8385 and 8774; deRicci, in *APF*, II (1903), p. 566, 124; A. Wace, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of Farouk I University* (Alexandria), II (1944), pp. 25-26, 4 and 5. Other dedications omit the adjective "great": Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 834; *IG*, XIV, 2244; *SIRIS*, 345. Still others address simply "Helius Sarapis": *IG*, XII, Suppl., 408; *CIG*, III, 5120; *deRicci*, in *APF*, II (1903), p. 570, 148; and *SIRIS*, 288 and 331. A lamp from Puteoli also bears the name "Helioserapis", along with a radiate head of the Sun and figures of Sarapis and Isis (*CIG*, IV, 8514). Compare M. Labrousse, *Une image d'Hélios-Sérapis*, in *BCTH*, 1953 (1956), pp. 257-267.

[2] *IG*, XIV, 916, from Ostia, dated after 100 B.C. (?); and *IG*, XIV, 1023, early(?) Roman, from Rome. Compare *POxy*, VIII, 1148, Κύριέ μου Σαρᾶπι Ἥλιε εὐεργέτα, first century A.D.

[3] *SB*, I, 4963: the dedication of a temple and peribolos Δι[ὶ Ἡλίῳ Σαράπιδι με]γάλῳ.

The Egyptians had worshipped the Sun from high antiquity. In Egypt, the Sun was often identified with Osiris, and such an identification of a heavenly god with one from the underworld could be justified in the Sun's visit to the underworld every night during his return from west to east.[1] Such a thought may have prompted Artemidorus (*Onirocritica*, II, 13) to list Helius, along with Zeus and several deities with chthonic associations, as a god to whom the snake was holy.

As for the Greeks, the feature of the Sun which most impressed them was the omniscience derived from his ability to see everything.[2] Pseudo-Callisthenes (I, 33, 3) referred to Sarapis as "the one who sees all things",[3] and evidence of a ceremonial nature shows that at least by the second century B.C. Sarapis was especially thought of as a god who *sees*. Among the dedications listed in the temple inventory from Serapeum C at Delos are a number of votive eyes.[4] These are probably thank-offerings to the god for some favor or benevolent supervision rather than for the healing of diseases, since the only other parts of the body which appear in the inventories are ears, associated in Egyptian tradition with the god who listens and grants prayers,[5] and an occasional pair of genitals, recalling

[1] S. Morenz, *Aegyptische Religion*, pp. 217-218. See J. Hani, *Sarapis dieu solaire*, in *REG*, LXXXIII (1970), pp. 52-55.

[2] E. Jessen, art. *Helios*, in *R-E*, VIII, cols. 58-59, cites the epithets πανόπτης and πανδερκής. A common Hellenistic use appears in *UPZ*, 15 (157 B.C), which closes with a prayer that Isis and Sarapis will grant the king and queen dominion of πάσης χώρας ἧς ὁ Ἥλιος ἐφορᾷ.

[3] τὸν πάντα δερκόμενον.

[4] *CE*, pp. 223, 229-232, 236-237, between 156 and 145 B.C., where the lists include, from the Anubieion within the Serapeum, ὠτίον ἀργυροῦν καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ ταινιδίῳ, ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀργυροῖ καὶ τύπιον ἀργυροῦν καὶ ἐνώδια χρυσᾶ ἐπὶ ταινιδίου, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀργυροῦς ἐπὶ σανιδίου.

[5] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, V, 7, 42: τά τε ὦτα καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οἱ δημιουργοῦντες ἐξ ὕλης τιμίας καθιεροῦσιν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνατιθέντες εἰς τοὺς νεώς, τοῦτο δήπου αἰνισσόμενοι ὡς πάντα ὁρᾷ καὶ ἀκούει. Such ears have been found at Delos, where they are dedicated Ἴσιδι ἐπηκόῳ (*CE*, 189) and Ἀ[τά]ργι θ[ε]ῷ (?) ἐπηκόῳ. (*CE*, pp. 179-180); *CE*, pp. 194-195. Others are from Melos (*IG*, XII, 3, 1087) and from Cyme in Aeolis (R. Haken, *Bronze votive ears dedicated to Isis*, in *Studia Antiqua A. Salač* [Prague, 1955], pp. 170-172). A colossal bronze votive ear (30 cm. high) from Egypt is published by P. Perdrizet, in *Bronzes Grecs d'Égypte de la Collection Fouquet* (Paris, 1911), pp. 50-51, 85, pl. 19. Compare also O. Weinreich, Θεοὶ Ἐπήκοοι, in *MDAI(A)*, XXXVII (1912), pp. 1-68, esp. pp. 46-52; W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 212-214; and T. Deveria, *Des yeux et oreilles dans le symbolisme*

Sarapis' interest in fertility. The eye reappears in an inscription from Miletus of Hadrianic date,[1] and helps establish this indirect connection between Sarapis and Helius. A series of coins from Catana [2] shows that the connection is at least as old as the second century B.C.: they are characterized by a head of Sarapis, wearing a headdress of globe (or solar disk), horns and plumes, surrounded by the rays which are elsewhere the mark of Helius.[3] Sarapis also appears on early imperial coins (43 B.C.-A.D. 96) in Rhodes [4] and on later pantheistic coin types from Alexandria: [5] on these, Sarapis also wears the calathus. More specifically, the "Nicocreon oracle" preserved by Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, I, 20, 16-17) explicitly identifies Sarapis as the Sun:

> Hear now what is declared by the oracle about the Sun or Sarapis; for Sarapis, whom the Egyptians set forth as the greatest god, when Nicocreon king of Cyprus prayed and asked him which of the gods he was to be considered, taught a faith which was of concern to the king, using these words:
>
> Such a god am I as I will tell:
> The heavenly world is my head, the sea my belly,
> my feet are the earth, and my ears lie in the aether,
> and my far-seeing eye is the bright shining light of the Sun.
>
> From these verses it is clear that Sarapis and the Sun share one and the same nature.[6]

de l'ancienne Égypte, in *Mémoires et Fragments*, I (*Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, vol. IV: Paris, 1896), pp. 147-157.

[1] *SIRIS* 286: θοὸν ὄμμα Σαράπιδος ἀρρήτοιο.

[2] *BMC Sicily*, p. 54, 37-90.

[3] For example, *BMC Sicily*, p. 229, 719-721, a Helius from Syracuse "after 212 B.C."; and *Syll. Numm. Copenhagen*, XXVI, 834-837, and 846 (from Rhodes, 166-88 B.C.). Both these series have Egyptian symbols on the reverse, Osiris and the headdress of Isis respectively.

[4] *BMC Caria*, p. 268, 404-407. Helius, radiate, is on the obverse.

[5] For example, *BMC Alexandria*, pl. 15, 284, 744, 1102, 1362, and 1945; A. Michaelis, in *JHS*, VI (1885), p. 301. See Abd-el-Mohsen el-Khachab, 'Ο "Καρακάλλος" Κοσμοκράτωρ, in *JEA*, XLVII (1961), p. 127.

[6] Accipe nunc quid de sole vel Sarapi pronuntietur oraculo, nam Sarapis, quem Aegyptii deum maximum prodiderunt, oratus a Nicocreonte Cypriorum

Nicocreon died in 312/311 B.C., so that ostensibly this is one of the earliest preserved references to Sarapis. The context in Macrobius is a long passage naming all the gods who are identified with the Sun, a virtuoso performance of the pantheistic syncretism of late antiquity, and this context has cast considerable doubt on its authenticity. Scholarly opinion has generally been skeptical of assigning a fourth-century date to the oracle.[1] Its content is no argument against an early date, however, for its terminology offers close parallels to the Hymn to Zeus written by Cleanthes, which dates from the late fourth century B.C. and includes such lines as these:

> O divine one, no deed takes place without thy sanction on the earth,
> Nor in the divine aetherial firmament, nor on the sea,
> Except such things as evil men fabricate in their own foolishness.[2] (15-17)

Nicocreon's oracle may well be an authentic early Hellenistic document, and the identification of Sarapis with the Sun may be as early as the reign of Ptolemy I.[3] The dedications from Delos and the coins make it certain that the identification was widely accepted by the second century B.C.

rege quis deorum haberetur, his versibus sollicitam religionem regis instruxit:

> εἰμὶ θεὸς τοιόσδε μαθεῖν, οἷόν κ' ἐγὼ εἴπω·
> οὐράνιος κόσμος κεφαλή, γαστὴρ δὲ θάλασσα,
> γαῖα δέ μοι πόδες εἰσί, τὰ δ' οὔατα ἐν αἰθέρι κεῖται,
> ὄμμα δὲ τηλαυγὲς λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο.

ex his apparet Sarapis et solis unam et individuam esse naturam.

[1] *UPZ*, p. 83; O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapis-Religion* (Tübingen, 1919), p. 10; J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1929), II, p. 269.

[2] J. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 227-228: Οὐδέ τι γίγνεται ἔργον ἐπὶ χθονὶ σοῦ δίχα, δαῖμον, / οὔτε κατ' αἰθέριον θεῖον πόλον, οὔτ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ, / πλὴν ὁπόσα ῥέζουσι κακοὶ σφετέραισιν ἀνοίαις.

[3] R. Pettazzoni, *Il "Cerbero" di Sarapide*, in *Mélanges Ch. Picard, RA*, 6e Ser., XXIX-XXXII (1948), pp. 803-809, adopted Macrobius' view that the animal symbolizes the solar aspects of Sarapis. But since there is no clear evidence that the Cerberus was a part of the Alexandrian iconography of Sarapis (compare pp. 17-18 above), his attempt on pp. 806-807 to date the solar identification to the reign of Ptolemy I can unfortunately not be accepted as conclusive.

B. Zeus

A papyrus of the second century A.D. entitled "The Miracle of Zeus Helius Great Sarapis on behalf of Syrion the Pilot" recounts how the god supplied water to the men of Pharos in Alexandria, and ends with the rubric, "All ye who are present, say 'There is one Zeus Sarapis (Εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις)'." [1] This affirmation also appears in other documents of the Roman period.[2] Nock, stating that it was a cry of enthusiasm rather than a concise monotheistic creed, has proposed some such translation as, "There is no god like Zeus Sarapis"! [3] In any event, it demonstrates clearly that Sarapis and Zeus were identified in the Roman period, and coins show that Zeus Sarapis was honored as early as the reign of Vespasian.[4] Tacitus (*Historiae*, IV, 84, 5) included Jupiter among the gods with whom Sarapis was identified, and Achilles Tatius (*Leucippe et Clitophon*, V, 2, 1) referred to "the great god, whom the Greeks call Zeus, and the Egyptians call Sarapis".

Since from the beginning of the Hellenistic age Sarapis displayed a characteristic kingliness, it is not surprising that he was identified with the King of the Gods, although the appearances of Zeus Sarapis are relatively sparse in the Hellenistic period proper. A dedication at Delos to Zeus Sarapis dates from 112/111 B.C.,[5] and an inscription from Byzantium names the god Zeus Serapis as the city's eponymous hieromnamon for the year in which it was carved, sometime during the first century B.C.[6] At the close of the Hellenistic period, Diodorus mentioned Zeus as one of the gods popularly identified with Osiris/Sarapis (I, 25). This evidence is neither plentiful enough nor early enough to prove that the identification of Sarapis with Zeus was a product of the early Ptolemaic theologians, though the official nature of the cult at Byzantium is

[1] *POxy*, XI, 1382. See E. Peterson, Εἷς Θεός (Göttingen, 1926), pp. 216-221; A. D. Nock, *Conversion* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 84-85.

[2] *CIG*, IV, 7014 and 7042.

[3] Nock, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-293. Compare Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[4] Peterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-236.

[5] *CE*, 126. Compare *IG*, XIV, 1, 162 (*SIRIS*, 176), which refers to a Διοσσωτηριαστᾶν Σαραπιαστᾶν κοινόν.

[6] *SEG*, XV, 426.

suggestive. If the Nicocreon oracle does really date from the fourth century B.C., it will demonstrate that Sarapis' sphere of influence had already transcended the underworld and included the heavenly realms of Zeus.

C. Aion

A late inscription dedicated to Zeus Helius Great Sarapis Aion [1] illustrates a further syncretistic development of the Sarapis figure. Aion, Eternity, was also equated with Sarapis on an amulet addressed to Aion Ἐρπέτης Lord Sarapis.[2]

Before the second century A.D., Aion was more a flexible philosophical concept than a well defined god with established cults—Nock listed eight distinct conceptions, starting with Plato's, through various Orphic and magical interpretations, ending with the establishment of a cult of Aion as a personal god, at Alexandria in the second century A.D.[3] Pseudo-Callisthenes (I, 30, 6 and I, 33, 2) called Sarapis "Plutonian Eternity, himself ruling on the five-ridged peaks of Alexandria and turning round the endless cosmos".[4] It has been argued that the Alexander Romance preserves an authentic Hellenistic tradition concerning the foundation of Alexandria; this phrasing is compatible with an early Hellenistic date, since it virtually repeats formulations that Plato, Aristotle and Eudoxus had already employed.[5] The term "Plutonian Eternity" may have meant little more than the English expression "Ancient of Days", and as it was used in reference to Sarapis may simply have stressed the eternity over which, as a god of the underworld,

[1] C. Bonner, *An obscure inscription on a gold tablet*, in *Hesperia*, XIII (1944), p. 34.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-35 (*SEG*, XV, 619). Bonner interpreted the inscription as a charm against scorpions. Compare H. Seyrig, *Deux notes d'épigraphie rélatives aux cultes alexandrins*, in *AIPhO*, XIII (1953: *Mélanges I. Lévy*), pp. 608-612.

[3] *A vision of Mandulis Aion*, in *HThR*, XXVII (1934), pp. 53-94.

[4] Αἰὼν Πλουτώνιος αὐτὸς ἀνάσσων / πενταλόφοις κορυφαῖσιν ἀτέρμονα κόσμον ἑλίσσων. See O. Weinreich, *Aion in Eleusis*, in *ARW*, XIX (1916-1919), p. 189, n. 1.

[5] Plato, *Timaeus*, 40 B; Aristotle, *De Caelo*, I, 279 A and II, 293 B; Eudoxus, fr. 124, pp. 68-69, Lasserre. On the authenticity of this section of the Romance see Welles, *Discovery*, pp. 282-284.

he would naturally preside.[1] There is no reason to doubt that the early Hellenistic conception of Sarapis included eternity among his attributes: even if we were not to accept the evidence of the Alexander Romance, we are aware that the Osiris who became Sarapis was called "Lord of Eternity" in the Book of the Dead (175).[2] Explicit syncretistic identification of Sarapis and Aion was a later development, however; it could not be articulated until Aion was understood as a personal god, under the Roman empire.

D. Ammon and Pan

By the end of the Hellenistic age, Diodorus (I, 25) could identify Osiris/Sarapis not only with Dionysus, Pluto and Zeus, but also with Ammon and Pan.

The connection with Ammon may not be any more profound than that, as Herodotus (II, 42, 5) and Pindar (*Pythia*, 4, 16, and fr. 36, Snell) wrote, Ammon was the Egyptian name for Zeus. Once Zeus and Sarapis had been identified the Ammon-Sarapis connection was easily made. The Anubis hymn from Cius[3] identified Zeus, Ammon, Osiris and Sarapis as the same god; its date is Roman. However, a marble ring from Alexandria depicting Ammon-Sarapis may be Hellenistic,[4] and an ivory scepter with busts of Isis and a Sarapis who wears a pair of Ammon's ram horns is from the second century B.C.[5]

The presence of Pan in Diodorus' list is odd, since the goat-legged and -eared Pan of the classical and Hellenistic period has

[1] D. Levi, *Aion*, in Hesperia, XIII (1944), pp. 280-281. M. Zepf, *Der Gott Αἰών in der hellenistischen Theologie*, in *ARW*, XXV (1933), pp. 225-244, pointed out that to Aristotle, Aion was the fifth element, the Heaven. Perhaps Sarapis approached Aion through his connection with Helius and Zeus.

[2] L. Kákosy, *Osiris- Aion*, in *Oriens Antiquus*, III (1964), pp. 15-25, cited many instances of iconographic parallels between Osiris as lord of eternity, and Aion. His evidence dates primarily from the Roman period.

[3] Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 1029. Compare W. Peek, *Der Isishymnus von Andros*, pp. 138-142.

[4] T. Kraus, *Ein Marmorring aus Aegypten*, in *MDAI(Kairo)*, XVII (1961), p. 131.

[5] J. Charbonneaux, *Sarapis et Isis et la double corne d'abondance*, in *Hommages à W. Deonna* (*Collection Latomus*, XXVIII: Brussels, 1957), pp. 131-141.

remarkably little in common with the august, kingly god which Sarapis seemed to be. He did of course share an interest in fertility with Osiris, indicated by Proclus (*In Platonis Cratylum*, 406B)[1] and Diodorus (I, 18). Chaeremon, in the reign of Nero, listed Iacchus, Priapus, Sarapis, and Silenus and the family of the satyrs together as members of the Egyptian pantheon[2]; Diodorus (III, 9, 2) mentioned a cult at Meroe common to Pan, Isis, Heracles, and Zeus; and Porphyrius (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, V, 13) also connected Pan and Sarapis. Pan does have much in common with Priapus, and a Hellenistic inscription from Soli records the construction of a shrine of Priapus at Sarapis' command.[3] Pan probably owed his identification with Osiris/Sarapis to his role as a savior god, attested by votive inscriptions from Ptolemaic Egypt.[4] Sarapis also appears as a savior, and a number of graffiti at Abydus from the second century B.C. record the gratitude of those who have been saved,[5] very possibly from the rigors of a desert journey.

The earliest association of Sarapis and Pan is the statement of Diodorus, and it may simply reflect the growing tendency to see Sarapis as a pantheistic deity. Pan, the god of all things, the πᾶν μηνύων of Plato, *Cratylus*, 408C, may well have its roots in the Pharaonic tradition.[6] Wilamowitz argued that the pantheistic conception of Pan does not appear until Cornutus, *De Natura Deorum*, 27, except for simple word plays without theological significance.[7] It would seem, however, that such a conception

[1] O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1922), 188. Compare the ithyphallic representations of Osiris mentioned in Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 371F.

[2] Psellus, edited by C. N. Sathas, *Fragments inédits des historiens Grecs, Chaeremonis Aegyptiaca*, in *BCH*, I (1877), p. 130, lines 9-11; Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 184.

[3] *SIRIS*, 355 (third century B.C.).

[4] For the epithet ἐπήκοος, compare *SEG*, XVIII, 700 (Ptolemy VI) and 703 (Roman). For εὔοδος, compare *OGIS*, I, 38, 70, 71 and 72; *SEG*, XVII, 701; and Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 826 (all Hellenistic). See also Kaibel, 825.

[5] *SB*, I, 1054, 1055 and 1056.

[6] W. Roscher, *Pan als Allgott*, in *Festschrift für J. Overbeck* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 56-72.

[7] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*[2] (Basel, 1956) II, p. 176, accepted by F. Brommer, art. *Pan*, in *R-E*, Suppl., VIII, Nachtrag, col. 1005.

must have originated at least as early as the source for Diodorus' statement, since it is most probably the "Allgott" Pan with which Osiris, Sarapis, and the others are identified there.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

A. The Emergence of Sarapis

Our investigation has concentrated on the early development of the Sarapis cult. We have seen evidence that Alexander may have worshipped the god when he founded Alexandria. We can say with confidence that Sarapis was worshipped with his Hellenic name and Hellenic appearance during the reign of Ptolemy I, who sponsored the new statue in Greek style at Alexandria and was probably responsible for the more limited Hellenization of the cult at Memphis. It is also clear that Sarapis was presented, not as a new god, but as the traditional Osiris-Apis, in a new manifestation as a Greek father god. Under the first several Ptolemies, there was little emphasis placed on the "Apis"-element, except to allow an ambiguity between the bull-god of Memphis and the deified king of Argos. His divinity was syncretistic in nature from the time of Ptolemy I, for in it Osiris and Pluto were fused, even though the Greek impression of Osiris resembled the benevolent Dionysus more than the stern Pluto. This was accomplished through a cult statue which duplicated the iconography of Pluto as king and a concomitant theology which stressed his blessings and benign intimacy with mortals: the hymns of Demetrius of Phalerum celebrating Sarapis' cure of his blindness are our best evidence for placing this development in the reign of Ptolemy I. Thus, whether Alexander patronized a pharaonic cult of Osiris-Apis at the site of Alexandria or not, a syncretistic theology of Sarapis was first articulated under the royal auspices of the first Ptolemy.[1] The elaboration of that theology through features borrowed from Asclepius and Dionysus, but without identifying Sarapis with them, was also apparently carried out under Ptolemy I. The fundamental quality of Sarapis

[1] P. Jouguet, *La politique intérieure du Premier Ptolémée*, in *BIAO*, XXX (1930), pp. 530-534.

as an underworld god who was interested in the welfare and health of his devotees on earth provided a fertile soil for the growth of a conception which saw him as the lord, with Isis, of nearly every sphere of divine activity. The beginnings of this trend apparently lay in the identifications with Zeus and Helius documented in the second century B.C., natural developments of the sphere of influence already ascribed to Sarapis at the start, just as the isolated identification with Aion in the Alexander romance was a natural outgrowth of his aspect as Pluto. Another hint is the epithet "Greatest God", applied to Sarapis at Memphis in the second century and at Anaphe in the first.[1] In Pseudo-Callisthenes, I, 33, 7, with its tentative claim to record a genuine Hellenistic tradition, he is also invoked as "O Greatest Sarapis". This does not mean that he was already viewed in pantheistic terms so early, for the "Greatest" may be only an enthusiastic version of the "Great" which is occasionally applied to Sarapis [2] and is a common epithet of Egyptian gods [3]; even "Greatest" is applied to other Greco-Egyptian deities in the Ptolemaic period and later.[4] With these reservations, however, it still seems as if there was Ptolemaic precedent at least as early as the second century B.C. for such expressions as those in Aristides' hymn to Sarapis (XLV, Keil), in which the god's omnipotence is stressed with such phrases as "Nothing is impossible to you" and "Everything everywhere comes about through you and because of you", and in which his influence over all men and all elements is praised.

It remains now to summarize in more detail our conclusions

[1] Memphis: *UPZ*, 15, 20, 41 and perhaps also 22 and 24. Anaphe: *IG*, XII, 3, 247.

[2] *IG*, XIV, 1025 and 1028; *SIRIS*, 111, 346, 537 and 801; *SB*, I, 5803; *SB*, III, 6610 and 7027 (*SEG*, VIII, 652); *SB*, V, 8455 and 8775; *PTeb*, II, 299; E. Revillout, in *RA*, 4e Sér., V (1905), pp. 341-342. These are all Roman in date.

[3] E. Edel, *Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches*, in *MDAI(Kairo)*, XIII (1944), pp. 34-35.

[4] For example, *UPZ*, 77 and 106; Lucian, *De Sacrificiis*, 538-539; de Ricci, in *APF*, II (1903), pp. 552-553; Lévy, in *REpigr*, I (1913), pp. 109-113; *PRossGeorg*, II, 6; *OGIS*, I, 175, and II, 659; *SB*, III, 7256 and 7257 (*SEG*, VIII, 653 and 654); *SB*, V, 8129, 8133, 8134, 8139 and 8141 (*SEG*, VIII, 538, 544, 543, 549 and 551 respectively); *SB*, X, 10281.

concerning the features of the cult at Alexandria and at Memphis, the specific role of the Ptolemies in the developing conception of Sarapis, and the influence of their interest on cult practice in and out of Egypt.

B. Alexandria and Memphis

The Sarapis worshipped at Alexandria was essentially the same as that of Memphis, but the emphasis of worship and portrayal was different. That at Alexandria was more anthropomorphic, more royal, while that at Memphis was more closely involved with the cult of the bull and with fertility.

At Alexandria, the temple on Rhacotis hill contained a statue of Sarapis as a monumental, impressive king, in the traditional pose of Zeus. He was a patron deity for the population of Alexandria, especially for the Greeks, and his royal mien reminded everyone who visited his temple that a powerful deity attended the affairs of the royal dynasty of the Ptolemies, and functioned in the universe much as the Ptolemies did on earth. Though awesome and impressive, he was also approachable, and visitors to Alexandria regularly visited his temple, to see the sights and to offer prayers for their friends and relatives. From the earliest days of the Ptolemaic dynasty, Sarapis appeared in dreams, first and most prominently (as was fitting) to Ptolemy I himself, but also to more humble worshippers. His temple was established on Rhacotis either by Alexander or by Ptolemy I, on the site of an ancient temple of some Egyptian god, probably Osiris. The image of Sarapis as a seated, royal figure was installed, perhaps under the influence of an image at Sinope, by Ptolemy I. His successor installed the "daughter library" at the Serapeum,[1] which was known as "Parmenion's Serapeum" by the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy III.[2] Apparently at the time of the accession of Ptolemy III, the temple on Rhacotis was no longer worthy of the city growing magnificently around it, so the king initiated further construction in the Serapeum

[1] See p. 8, n. 1 above.

[2] *PCairoZenon*, III, 59355 (*SB*, III, 6771), lines 100-103 and 128. U. Wilcken, *Papyrus-Urkunden*, in *APF*, VII (1924), pp. 77-79 comments on the passage.

complex.[1] Ptolemy IV probably inherited the work, and completed it by adding a temple of Harpocrates and issuing coins with the busts of Sarapis and Isis.

At Memphis, home of the Apis bull, Sarapis was promptly identified with the Osiris-Apis which had been worshipped there by Egyptians for centuries, and by Greeks in the fourth century. It seems impossible to determine whether the Hellenized name "Sarapis" first came into use at Memphis or at Alexandria, but surely the name and generally Hellenic conception of the god were added to the cult at Memphis during the reign of Ptolemy I. It is interesting that the name apparently grows out of the Osiris-Apis-figure at Memphis, though the earliest traditions associate the name with Alexandria. Perhaps the shrine encountered at Rhacotis by Alexander was already associated with the sanctuary and tomb of the Apis bulls at Pharaonic Memphis. Real evidence concerning the cult image of Sarapis at Memphis is difficult to find and interpret, but at some early time under the Ptolemies, it seems that a cult statue was erected of an anthropomorphic Sarapis, standing and adorned with attributes suggesting fertility—the cornucopiae and calathus, as well as the chiton. We have suggested that these aspects of the statue at Memphis were inspired by the fertility interests natural to the Apis bull and by Anatolian iconography which can logically be expected if Bryaxis was the sculptor of this image, and that these features of a fertility cult permitted and encouraged the influence of Dionysiac religion at Memphis. Specific royal patronage of the Sarapis cult is more difficult to document at Memphis than at Alexandria, and in fact the increasing national pride of the native Egyptians under the later Ptolemies is reflected in a strong emphasis on the native cult of the bull and in the disturbances within the temple complex, such as the attacks of native Egyptian personnel on the Greek devotee Ptolemaeus.

But any distinction between the cult of Sarapis in Alexandria and that in Memphis must be stated with reservations. It seems to be

[1] A. Rowe and B. R. Rees, *A contribution to the archaeology of the western desert: IV. The great Serapeum of Alexandria*, in *BRL*, XXXIX (1956-1957), pp. 485-520. Compare P. Jouguet, *Les premiers Ptolémées et l'hellénisation de Sérapis*, in *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont* (*Collection Latomus*, Vol. II: Brussels, 1949), pp. 165-166.

a valid and real distinction, especially during the first half of the Ptolemaic period. As time went on, however, and the priorities of royal policy shifted, Sarapis and his cult became more routine matters. In Egypt at least little ingenuity was expended on them. It was in the islands and mainland of Greece and Asia Minor that Sarapis and Isis made their greatest impact in the later Hellenistic period, to spread still later to more extensive areas of the Roman empire. In some of these new places of worship, statues are found which seem to imitate one or the other of the two major prototypes. Actual cult statues tend to imitate the Alexandria image, as at Delos, but small models and reliefs were inspired as well by the Memphis statue. More important, representations outside Egypt adapted attributes from both the statues and from other sources. On many Hellenistic coins Sarapis wears, not the calathus, but the atef-crown, a traditional headdress of Osiris.[1] But near the end of the Hellenistic period, Sarapis does wear the calathus on occasional coins, as at Perinthus in Thrace and Rhodes.[2] Even the "canonical" type of Sarapis appears to be a combination of the two main Hellenistic types. This canonical type, represented by a number of statues and very many busts, is a seated Sarapis, accompanied by a three-headed Cerberus and wearing calathus and chiton, but without the cornucopiae. The copies of this type are so common that they, too, must derive from a very important statue, and presumably this is the most important image at the most important shrine, Alexandria. But since all these copies date from the second century A.D. or later, their prototype statue at Alexandria may well date from some building project in the Roman Imperial period. This Roman adaptation of earlier models must have some relation to the conception of Sarapis which prevailed in the first or second century A.D. when it was fashioned. The calathus reinforces the stress on fertility, but the Cerberus and chiton (and the absence

[1] Our Fig. 2; I. Svoronos, Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, III, 1123, 1124, 1136, 1136a, 1186, 1415, 1416; E. T. Newell, *Two Recent Egyptian Hordes* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 33: New York, 1927), p. 8. The headdress is identified as the atef by H. Seyrig, *Deux notes d'épigraphie rélatives aux cultes alexandrins*, in *AIPhO*, XIII (1953), pp. 606-607.

[2] *BMC Thrace*, p. 147, 3; *BMC Caria and Islands*, p. 268, 404-410.

of the cornucopiae) imply that Sarapis was becoming more exclusively a god of the dead and the underworld, or at least that the iconography was now less subtle in conveying his underworld interest. This iconography reflects the greater concern with the afterlife which so preoccupied the religious thought of the later Roman empire.[1] Thus it seems that as time went on, he came more and more to resemble the older pre-Hellenistic conception of Pluto.

The unambiguous dominance of one type of Sarapis in the imperial period must be the result of the declining importance of Memphis after the end of the Ptolemaic era, and the concentration on Alexandria as the chief shrine of the Sarapis cult.[2]

C. The King's Role in the Formation of the Sarapis Figure

Plutarch and Tacitus provide sufficient testimony to the way in which tradition associated the early Ptolemies with Sarapis. Their accounts explicitly state that Sarapis was identified with Pluto by Timotheus and Manetho in their role as official court theologians. The earliest evidence that Sarapis was a healing god is provided by the hymns written by Demetrius of Phalerum during his tenure at the court of Ptolemy. We have seen that the proposal to identify Sarapis with the Greek king Apis, with its overtones of Euhemerism, may also have originated with a member of the court of Ptolemy II, Aristeas of Argos. This all represents considerable theological diversity, with no rigidly official orthodoxy to suggest that Ptolemy or his theologians were deliberately trying to revolutionize the Greek conception of godhead. We can trace the ways Sarapis received the attributes of more and more gods, but we should not conclude that a fixed royal policy guided this theological development. The vagueness about the details of Sarapis' identity may well have been intentional. The less specific his attributes, the more easily he could appeal to diverse individuals and groups in Ptolemaic Egypt.

In all probability the king was more directly interested in

[1] *GGR*², II, pp. 543-558.

[2] On the importance of Alexandria: Pausanias, I, 18, 4. On the relative decline of Memphis: Strabo, XVII, 1, 32.

Sarapis' role as patron of the city of Alexandria, his new capital city, than in theological niceties. This interest is reflected in the continued building activity of the first four Ptolemies, which made his temple the grandest in the city. In documents of the Roman imperial age, the special responsibilities of Sarapis toward Alexandria inspired the epithets "Polieus" and "Poliouchus".[1] Sarapis' role as protector of the city was important in the Ptolemaic period as well; the Greek population, at least, had left behind the patron gods of its former cities, and Sarapis had a natural role to fill in their civic lives.[2] The need for such a god would have been fairly urgent to the Greek immigrants in the early years of the Hellenistic period, and we remember that in the Alexander Romance an epiphany plays an important role in the foundation of the city. In spite of the late date of the Alexander romance as a whole, it is likely that this account of the city's founding has a good early Hellenistic source, perhaps some official "logos" in the Serapeum precinct itself.[3]

Not only was Sarapis the patron of Alexandria, but he was also patron of the Ptolemaic dynasty. It is clear that the Ptolemies thought of Sarapis as a kind of divine counterpart of their own benevolent rule, and that this was a feature of Ptolemaic policy as early as the reign of Ptolemy I. The evidence includes the location of his most important temple in the capital, the regal appearance of his statue there, the collocation of Sarapis and Isis with the ruling king and queen in the royal oath formula, the frequent double-dedications, and the pose of god and goddess on the coin issue of Ptolemy IV.

In the ancient versions, the introduction of the cult is ascribed chiefly to the king's devotion and piety. This is true both of the tradition in which Alexander commissions a new temple in grateful

[1] Dio Chrysostom, XXXII, 12-13; Julian, *Epistulae*, 6, 432D-433A; *SB*, I, 1555 and IV, 7473, from Coptus; and *OGIS*, II, 708, from Xois. H. Henne has shown that these inscriptions, though of provincial origin, refer to the Sarapis of Alexandria, *La gymnasiarchie de Sarapis "polieus" et les olympiades alexandrines*, in *Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, LXVII, 2 (1937: *Mélanges Maspéro*, II), pp. 297-307.

[2] Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 47.

[3] Welles, *Discovery*, pp. 284-286.

response to the god's favor and of that in which Ptolemy I obeys the god's dream-oracle and brings the image from Sinope. Modern, more unbelieving generations of scholars have been reluctant to accept piety as a central motivation, and have seen Sarapis as a useful symbol for imperialistic expansion by the Ptolemies [1]; others have suggested that the early Ptolemies looked on Sarapis as a convenient device for uniting the two racial groups in their kingdom, the Greeks and the Egyptians.[2]

Fraser has convincingly refuted the first viewpoint, by showing how little chronological and geographical correlation exists between Ptolemaic imperial power and the cults of the Egyptian gods.These gods were in fact more often worshipped in places which were not part of the Ptolemaic empire but which had cordial relations with the Ptolemies. He concluded that "the cult spread spontaneously, unaffected by political factors".[3]

The other opinion, that Sarapis symbolized a planned fusion of the Greek and Egyptian elements in the population of Ptolemaic Egypt, has much to recommend it, including the statement of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 361F-362A) naming Timotheus and Manetho as Ptolemy's religious advisors. Since Timotheus, as a member of the Eumolpid family, belonged to the priestly clan of the Eleusinian mysteries, and since Manetho was an Egyptian priest from Sebennytus, it has been argued that these two priests prepared the cult scheme of Sarapis.[4] Their names underscore the blending of Greek and Egyptian elements which we have noticed repeatedly in discussing the ancient documents. Even the name "Sarapis" contained elements that the Egyptians could derive from their Apis bull, and the Greeks from the Argive king of their own mythology. Like the Ptolemies, Sarapis reigned over a cosmopolitan world of Egyptians and Greeks, and provided blessings (in theory, at least) to both groups alike. It seems a well warranted hypothesis

[1] Brady, *Reception*, pp. 7, 17-18.

[2] Jouguet, in *BIAO*, XXX (1930), pp. 513-534.

[3] Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 47; Vidman, *Isis*, pp. 27-47.

[4] W. Kroll, art. *Manetho*, in *R-E*, XIV, cols. 1062-1063; O. Weinreich, art. *Timotheus*, in *R-E*, VI, cols. 1341-1342. Welles, *Discovery*, p. 288, n. 83, pointed out that no ancient author ever states this explicitly, and called the whole inference into question.

that one of Ptolemy's chief motives in promoting the cult of Sarapis was his desire to continue Alexander's policy of racial fusion. One scholar has even included the Alexandrian Jews in the stew of Ptolemy's melting pot, claiming that Sarapis was intended to combine Zeus, Osiris and Jahweh, and citing the role of Timotheus, Manetho and Eleazer.[1]

We should agree, then, that Ptolemy really intended such a role for Sarapis, but must also concede that he had only moderate success.[2] Although at Memphis both Greek and Egyptian names figure among the Serapeum personnel, the antagonism between them in the second century B.C. is eloquently attested in the papyri written there by Ptolemaeus,[3] and certainly the number of dedications by Egyptians to Sarapis is very small in comparison with those by Greeks.[4] Resistance by the native Egyptian priesthoods may have been at least partly responsible,[5] for however Egyptian his official pedigree may have been in the estimation of the Greeks, his appearance was so Greek that he could only be considered a Greek god by the Egyptian priesthoods.

Brady and Fraser have called attention to the decline in dedications to Sarapis after the third century. Brady interpreted this as the result of native hostility to Sarapis, "who had never been an Egyptian god".[6] Fraser's explanation has a different focus, and he saw the decline of official dedications in Alexandria as due to a deflection of royal interest from Sarapis to the native Egyptian divinities.[7] Certainly royal patronage declined after Ptolemy IV, and that fact may well reflect a growing anxiety on the part of the kings to show more favor to the native population. Yet even after

[1] B. Stricker, *De Brief van Aristeas* (*Verhand. Nederl. Akad. van Wetenschappen*, afd. Letterkunde, LXII, no. 4, 1956), pp. 68-70.

[2] Jouguet, in *Hommages Bidez-Cumont*, esp. pp. 165-166.

[3] *UPZ*, 5-9, and commentary.

[4] Brady, *Reception*, pp. 28-29; S. Morenz, *Aegyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 260-262.

[5] W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im Hellenistischen Aegypten* (Leipzig, and Berlin, 1905), II, p. 268; however, in *UPZ*, pp. 87-88, Wilcken argued that the Egyptians did accept and embrace the Sarapis cult, though laying stress on its Egyptian elements.

[6] Brady, *Reception*, pp. 26-29.

[7] Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 17.

Ptolemy IV, the cult of Sarapis continued. After the impetus given by the earlier Ptolemies, the cult was sufficiently well established that it did not need the special encouragement of royal promotion. The great temple on Rhacotis was still both a religious and cultural showplace, its prestige burnished by the presence within its colonnades of the daughter library. At Memphis such devotees of Sarapis as the κάτοχος Ptolemaeus continued to offer prayers to Sarapis on behalf of the sovereigns, just as the subjects of the Ptolemies continued throughout the dynasty to swear oaths by Sarapis and Isis. The papyri at Memphis also attest the dreams sent by Sarapis [1] and the habit of going to the great Serapeum each year to make sacrifice [2] during the second century B.C. Brady argued that the second century saw a rise in a more private, mystic conception of Sarapis, and that after Sarapis' failure as a public god he was adopted as a mystery god by the Greek settlers, especially at Memphis.[3] The presence of Serapea in Fayum towns during the second century,[4] however, may mean that he appealed to natives as well in this period, though these may also have been built by Greeks. Fraser suggested that with the withdrawal of royal initiative "the cult withered in its main branches, but put out small shoots in the Fayum".[5] Yet as we have seen, the lack of royal dedications after Ptolemy IV need not imply a total rejection of the god, but only that he needed no more buildings in the Alexandria temple complex.

Not all the Hellenistic sources who mention Sarapis were working under Ptolemaic patronage and simply mouthing official policy. Sarapis appealed to the new religious sensibilities of the new age—this is attested by the wide variety of speculation on his nature, and the wide variety of attributes ascribed to him in the dedications of popular religion. His connection with Pluto and with healing are most clearly products of the royal court, and the evidence strongly suggests that the connections with Osiris, Dionysus and Apis also had royal sponsorship. From this basis, the trends of religious

[1] *UPZ*, 77-81.
[2] *UPZ*, 122.
[3] Brady, *Reception*, pp. 26-27.
[4] Fraser, *Two studies*, p. 8.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

speculation in the early Hellenistic age focussed with special intensity on the newly Hellenized Sarapis, as syncretistic ideas about divinity continued to develop. The Greek people of the early Hellenistic age (in Alexandria, Memphis, the Fayum, the islands and the Greek mainland) found in Sarapis a congenial god, one who answered their needs better than the traditional gods associated with the classical religion of the polis.

D. The Success of Sarapis

Probably the outstanding factor in the early cult of Sarapis was its success in attracting widespread devotion and in satisfying a real part of the religious needs of the Hellenistic age. The proof of this statement is the evidence which has been presented throughour this study: kings and commoners, merchants and slaves, Greeks and orientals, men and women, cities and individuals all venerated Sarapis and prayed to him from the earliest years of the Hellenistic period, and we know that he answered those prayers with satisfying frequency. The hymn to Sarapis of Aristides is late, but its praises (Aristides, XLV, 18-20, Keil) are very much in the spirit of the Hellenistic documents:

> He alone is held in honor alike by kings and by private citizens, alike by the wise and the simple, by both great and small, by both those who prosper and those whose lot is hard, giving to the former the enjoyment of their happiness and proving to the latter to be their only salvation from further evils. Next to physical health the thing which men most zealously seek is the possession of property; this too Sarapis provides, without wars and battles and dangers. Thus in every circumstance of life he comes on our behalf, and there is no place left unaffected by the workings of this god. Rather, in whatever matters mankind is interested, he too takes an interest, and performs every sort of blessing, beginning with the soul and ending with material wealth.[1]

[1] μόνος δὲ ὁμοίως μὲν βασιλεῦσιν, ὁμοίως δὲ ἰδιώταις τίμιος, ὁμοίως δὲ σοφοῖς καὶ φαύλοις, καὶ μεγάλοις καὶ ἐλάττοσι, καὶ καλῶς καὶ τοὐναντίον πράττουσιν, τοῖς

This passage itself indicates the reasons for Sarapis' popularity in its summary of the many different conditions of life which characterize the Hellenistic world as an individualistic one, and in its stress on the acquisition of material benefits along with the more spiritual blessings. Even Callimachus, who generally ignored the Egyptian gods, alluded twice to Sarapis, in dedicatory epigrams[1] appropriate to an effective, active god. This shows that already in the third century B.C. Sarapis' basic appeal was in the context of answering prayers and providing for the needs of his devotees, rather than in the realm of myth, the area of Callimachus' greatest interest.

We can trace the popularity of the god in the theophoric name "Sarapion", which Greeks bore in his honor. The earliest person to have the name is one of Alexander's close friends, mentioned in Plutarch, *Alexander*, 39, 3. So early an occurrence is highly surprising if the Hellenized form "Sarapis" first originated in the later part of Alexander's life, and the name has usually been interpreted as a mistake of some kind.[2] By the middle of the third century B.C., however, men called Sarapion had reached maturity, and we know of several who held minor cult offices and farming duties in Egypt proper, outside Alexandria.[3] In the second century B.C., the number of Sarapions is considerably greater, ranging from the *dioecetes* of all Egypt[4] to simple soldiers and merchants.[5] As time goes on, the name becomes a less reliable indication of his popularity,

μὲν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης εὐδαιμονίας ὄνησιν διδούς, τοῖς δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἄλλων δυσχερῶν μόνος γιγνόμενος. τὴν δ' αὖ μεθ' ὑγίειαν περισπούδαστον ἀνθρώποις χρημάτων κτῆσιν καὶ ταύτην Σάραπις δίδωσιν ἄνευ πολέμων καὶ μάχης καὶ κυνδύνων. οὕτω διὰ παντὸς ἡμῖν εἶσι τοῦ βίου καὶ οὐδεμία ἀργὸς χώρα παρείθη τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ, ἀλλά, μεθ' ὧν ἄνθρωπον δεῖ † νοεῖν, πάνθ' οὗτος ἐξετάζει καὶ κατὰ πᾶν μέρος ἐργασίαν ἔχει, ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρξάμενος καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς τὰς ἔξωθεν εὐπορίας.

[1] *Ep.* 37 and 55, ed. Pfeiffer. See p. 70, n. 3 above.

[2] Even Welles, *Discovery*, p. 288, does not insist on the name's authenticity though he argues that it does help demonstrate a close connection between Alexander and Sarapis.

[3] W. Peremans and E. Van 't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, III (*Studia Hellenistica*, No. 11: Louvain, 1956), 6709, 7285; IV (*Studia Hellenistica*, No. 12; 1959), 10455, 10456, 11717. In Alexandria itself, a court functionary and a prominent physician, both named Sarapion, are known from the third century: *ibid.*, VI (*Studia Hellenistica*, No. 17; 1968), 14690 and 16632.

[4] *Ibid.*, I (*Studia Hellenistica*, No. 6; 1950), 46.

[5] *Ibid.*, II (*Studia Hellenistica*, No. 8; 1952), 2942, 3576, 3716, 4095 and 4096; V (*Studia Hellenistica*, No. 13; 1963), 12805, 12806, 13869, 14139.

since in the normal course of events boys are more likely to be named for mortal relatives than for gods. The point is that parents who in the early third century B.C. named their children Sarapion must have been moved by some sort of devotion to the god, and it is interesting that they seem to be chiefly among the lower class of Greeks.[1]

In summary and conclusion we can try to understand why all these special preoccupations of Hellenistic religion focused so particularly on this one "new" god. The promoters of his cult, of course, consistently argued that he was no artificial creation, but an old and traditional god. But old and traditional as he was, he did have a new name and new iconography. Fundamentally, Sarapis was an underworld god. This meant, to the Greeks, that he was fundamentally Pluto, and this is the explicit testimony of the documents reviewed above in Chapter III. But in Egyptian terms the underworld deity was Osiris, and the earliest speculation on the nature of Sarapis identified him with Osiris, and specifically with Osiris-Apis. Whether the Apis was the Egyptian bull or the Argive king was, apparently, left ambiguous, for both identifications were proposed during the reign of Ptolemy II at the latest. Together they attest the dynasty's interest in Sarapis 'divinity, because the bull Apis strengthened his claim as a real Egyptian deity, and the king pointed to the parallels between the mortal king Ptolemy and the divine king Sarapis. The Greeks tended to think of Osiris as basically Dionysian in character, as an accessible, benevolent god concerned about the well-being of humans during their life, unlike the Pluto whose interest was confined to his underworld kingdom. Simply saying "Sarapis is Pluto" and "Sarapis is Osiris" would have involved a juxtaposition of Pluto and Osiris

[1] Fraser, *Two Studies*, pp. 14-16, uses theophoric names statistically to argue that Sarapis was not very popular among Greeks, especially in Alexandria, though there was some "growth of popularity of the cult in the Fayum in the later Ptolemaic period". Given the relative novelty of the god in the early Ptolemaic period, however, it is not really surprising that only a few families felt such deep devotion that they would name their sons for him, introducing a new name into their families. In general, the varied evidence which is discussed above, *passim*, shows by its content, if not by its bulk, that Sarapis stirred intense and deep devotion among those who did worship him.

which required a rethinking of the nature of one god or the other. Whether through deliberate policy of the royal theologians or not, it was Pluto whose nature changed, at least in so far as he was identified with Sarapis. The godhead of Sarapis emerged as a still kindlier one when it became known, in the reign of Ptolemy I, that he could heal—and when the founder of he Museum wrote hymns to celebrate the matter. This royal Sarapis was particularly at home at Alexandria; at Memphis his iconography shows Dionysian influence, which connected Sarapis/Osiris with the benevolent god of wine, the sponsor of intimate contact between gods and mortals. This development may have taken place as early as the reign of Ptolemy I, and must surely have done so by the reign of Ptolemy IV. In this connection with Osiris and Dionysus, Sarapis answered the need for intimate contact with divinity so common in the early Hellenistic age. Intimate contact in dreams and epiphanies was not, of course, limited to Memphis, but characterized the cult wherever it is found.

Another, more practical factor in Sarapis' success was the role of the Ptolemies as his sponsors. The association with the ruling dynasty in Egypt and the initial close connection between Sarapis and such kingly figures as Apis of Argos, Pluto and Osiris provided the seed from which the concept of a powerful, even all-powerful Sarapis naturally grew. There was a transcendent nature to his godhead from the earliest times, which gave him the power to fulfill the promises given in the close contact of dreams and visions.[1] From our disinterested point of view over two thousand years later, Sarapis may appear to have emerged suddenly into an artificial kind of "created" existence, but we should remember that the Hellenistic world took great care to describe Sarapis as an old god, newly apprehended.

The new appearance, the new combination of elements from Pluto, Osiris, Apis, Dionysus, and Asclepius, may have been suggested by the theologians of early Ptolemaic Alexandria, but Sarapis gained popularity quickly, especially among the Greeks,

[1] On the failure of Hellenistic-Roman philosophy to provide a god both immanent and transcendent, see C. Bailey, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome* (Berkeley, 1932), pp. 224-225, 242-245.

because this combination of elements answered a religious need. The processional hymn to Demetrius Poliorcetes [1] had complained that the traditional gods had gone away, lost their hearing, passed out of existence, or simply stopped paying attention to men's prayers. As an answer, the hymn could offer only a slick and sceptical form of Euhemerism. The emergence of the Sarapis figure, however, offered a more helpful response to the hymn's challenge, with the immediacy of his godhead, his active responses and oracles, his mysteriously numinous statues and commands accompanied by threats and promises which asserted his existence, and his miracles that proved his concern for men's welfare.

It was, of course, the Greeks in whose religion this emptiness had appeared in the fourth century B.C., and it is hardly surprising that Sarapis appealed primarily—indeed, almost exclusively—to Greeks and those of other racial stock who had become hellenized.[2] To the Greeks in Egypt and throughout the Hellenic world, the divine figure of Sarapis was a focus of the growing search for a powerful, transcendent deity. Furthermore, under the Ptolemies, even the native Egyptian theology tended to soften the characteristic features of nearly every individual god and to ascribe the same characteristics, such as omnipotence and omniscience, to them all indiscriminately.[3] As the central figure in Hellenistic syncretism, Sarapis both reflected and encouraged that tendency.

The original inspired insight which combined the stern Pluto and the congenial Osiris under a new name and enriched the result with attributes of Asclepius and Dionysus was responsible for Sarapis' success in satisfying the desire for a universal god who could still listen to and answer individual needs.

[1] P. 69, n. 2, above.

[2] Brady, *Reception*, pp. 25-29.

[3] E. Otto, *Zum Gottesbegriff der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XXXV (1961), pp. 277-280.

PLATE I

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PLATE II

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PLATE III

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